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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

ONOMAREV, FEDOSEYEV, PRIMAKOV AT ORIENTAL INSTITUTE AWARDS CEREMONY

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, 1981(signed to press 15 Jan 81) pp 4-13

[Ponomarev, Fedoseyev, Primakov speeches at 10 October 1980 presentation of the Order of the Labor Red Banner to the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute]

[Text] Academician B.N. Ponomarev, candidate of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, speech

Dear Comrades!

Permit me to congratulate the collective of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies on the high government award--the Order of the Labor Red Banner. This is testimony to the recognition by the Communist Party and our state of the institute's services in the development of Soviet oriental science and the training of scientific personnel.

The Institute of Oriental Studies is one of the country's oldest and meritorious scientific research establishments. It has been the basis of Russian and Soviet oriental studies for many decades. National oriental studies have made an outstanding contribution to the study of the history, languages, culture and the entire development of the oriental peoples. Its prestige is based on fundamental works of several generations of eminent scholars. The works of these scholars have secured the priority of our science in many spheres of world oriental studies.

Soviet scholars have opened an essential new stage in the development of this science in recent decades. This was brought about by the major historical changes in the oriental countries. The peoples of former colonies and dependent countries in the new situation created as a result of the Soviet Union's victory in the Great Patriotic War and the defeat of fascism and also the successes of the revolutionary movement did away with the colonial empires and took the path of independent development. States of a socialist orientation emerged. V.I. Lenin's prophetic words that the revolutionary onslaught of the working class "will combine with the revolutionary onslaught of hundreds of millions of mankind which has hitherto stood outside of history and has been regarded merely as its objects"* have come to pass.

*V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol 41, p 233.

The essence of the new stage in the development of oriental studies is precisely that it regards the Asian and African peoples as subjects of the historical process. These are the increasingly significant active forces of world social progress and world politics. It has to be said bluntly: whereas in the field of research into the past of the peoples of these continents and the study of their contribution to human culture we rely on the tremendous achievements of Russian and world oriental studies, in investigation of the broad range of contemporary oriental problems Soviet science initiated a movement in virgin territory and has achieved many results.

The more actively the oriental countries operate in the world arena, the greater the importance which is attached to the elaboration of the problems connected with their development for the foreign policy activity of our party and the Soviet state, for the world communist movement and for the entire revolutionary process.

The 1970's were marked by a number of major achievements of the Asian and African peoples in the struggle against imperialism, for the strengthening of national independence and for social progress.

A number of devastating culminating blows were struck at the system of colonialism in this period. The last colonial empire--the Portuguese--was destroyed. The domination of the racists in Zimbabwe was eliminated. The struggle for the liberation of the last colonies, primarily Namibia, and for the liquidation of the shameful racist-colonial apartheid regime in South Africa is developing increasingly actively.

The historic victory of the heroic Vietnamese people and the people of Laos and Kampuchea in a decisive battle against the American aggressors was a powerful new blow to the entire system of imperialism. It showed for all to see that in the modern era, given the present correlation of forces between socialism and capitalism in the world arena, the forces of imperialist reaction are incapable of overcoming peoples who resolutely support national independence, freedom and progress.

People's revolutions in Ethiopia and Afghanistan were launched in this period. The overthrow there of despotic antipopular regimes opened the way to profound social transformations. For precisely this reason the imperialists and their hirelings were so up in arms against these revolutions, having provoked undeclared wars for the sake of restoring the previous orders. But the attacks of reaction were beaten off by the patriotic forces, which rely on the support of the broad people's masses and international solidarity with world socialism and other present-day revolutionary detachments.

An antimonarchical revolution in Iran, which swept away the shah's regime, which had performed the role of gendarme of American imperialism, was victorious in this same period.

An important singularity of the current stage is the upsurge of the developing countries' struggle for a radical reorganization of the system of international economic relations and against neocolonialist exploitation.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev characterized the course of the liberated countries thus at the 25th CPSU Congress: "It may definitely be said of the majority of them that in

the confrontation with imperialism they are defending their political and economic rights with increasing energy, endeavoring to consolidate their independence and raise the level of social, economic and cultural development of their peoples."^{*} This proposition serves as a reference point for the elaboration of the current problems of the liberated states.

The collective of the Institute of Oriental Studies has increased its attention to topical problems of the national liberation movement noticeably in recent years. Emphasis is rightly being placed here on the combination of fundamental research with an analysis of current events in the practical-day-to-day plane. At the same time it would be an exaggeration to claim that the analysis of socioeconomic development and political processes in the orient's countries is now entirely satisfactory. The timeliness and accuracy of the analysis is not ensured always.

The successes scored by the peoples of countries liberated from colonial oppression are indisputable. But it is important not only to state this but also to thoroughly investigate the intricacies of the process and analyze the causes of reverse movements and negative phenomena like, for example, the regression in the socioeconomic development of Egypt, Somalia and certain other countries. In short, it is necessary to make an even more extensive and politically purposeful analysis of the complex social processes in the East.

The present stage of the national liberation movement is characterized by increased social stratification. As L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, "the struggle for national liberation in many countries has begun to develop in practice into a struggle against exploiter relationships, both feudal and capitalist."^{**} Despite certain deviations and zigzags, this process is constantly blazing a trail for itself in the most varied and sometimes unexpected forms. The Institute of Oriental Studies' scientific collective should analyze the ongoing changes in depth, comprehensively and in good time in order that it might always be on top of matters and completely ready to provide a scientific answer to the questions posed by life and not only correctly spot what is new but also skillfully forecast the development of events.

A very important area of the orientologists' research work was and remains all-around study of the strategy and tactics of imperialism in the oriental countries and also active opposition to it. Imperialism is persistently attempting to accomplish its neocolonialist goals and secure the possibility of exploitation of the peoples under the new conditions.

In the sphere of economics imperialism is taking advantage of its many opportunities and its entire experience of fraud and plunder in order to preserve countries which have won state independence as suppliers of raw material and fuel and enmeshing them with a net of unequal commercial and credit relations. The transnational monopolies are bringing the liberated countries' economic development under their control and creating new forms of their subordination to world capitalism.

In the sphere of politics we have a new campaign of imperialism against the liberated countries' sovereign rights which is being conducted in an atmosphere of militarist

^{*}"Material of the 25th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1976, p 13.

^{**}"Material of the 24th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1971, p 18.

fever under the cover of verbiage about the "Soviet threat." This includes the notorious Carter doctrine, which proclaimed a vast area many thousands of kilometers from the United States, but very close to Soviet borders, "a sphere of the United States' vital interests." This also includes the kindling of centers of conflict and local wars and, finally, maneuvers aimed at undermining the nonaligned movement and other international associations of the developing countries.

In the sphere of ideology we have justification of neocolonial expansion under the flag of arguments about nations' "interdependence" and the shameless distortion of the real processes of internationalization. We also have militant anticommunism and anti-Sovietism enveloped in increasingly new forms and used as instruments of imperialist world policy, including the policy of neocolonialism. All this requires constant scientific analysis and the formulation of precise, well-founded counter-arguments.

The investigation of religious ideology, particularly contemporary Islam and its political role and the forms of its use by different forces, is of growing significance. These are also questions of great political urgency.

As is known, imperialism is currently gambling particularly on Beijing. The treachery of the Beijing leaders and their hegemonist-chauvinist line is being used by imperialist politicians as their trump card. We have Beijing's open alliance with imperialism--as far as the organization of military partnership with the United States. That is why it is necessary in speaking of the main areas of Soviet orientalists' research work to emphasize the importance of a comprehensive analysis both of the internal processes occurring in China and also its foreign policy activity. This is a very politically significant field of the research work of the Institute of Oriental Studies and, equally, of other scientific research establishments in which sinologists are concentrated.

The significance of the scientific development of the problems characteristic of the countries of a socialist orientation should be specially emphasized. There are already several such countries in the Asian-African region, and we may count on there being more. This is a remarkable phenomenon. V.I. Lenin's proposition concerning the possibility of a number of countries' gradual transition to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage, is corroborated and his prevision concerning the growth of the struggle against colonial oppression into a struggle against capitalism, given the countries of victorious socialism as a support, is justified.

The course of events is corroborating daily the conclusions recorded two decades ago in the CPSU Program: "Capitalism is the path of the peoples' sufferings. It fails to ensure the rapid progress of the economy and the elimination of poverty.... Imperialism remains the main enemy and main obstacle on the path of the accomplishment of the national tasks confronting the young sovereign states and all dependent countries...." * Marxist-Leninists proceed from the fact that only development along the path toward socialism can secure the true national and social liberation and revival of the peoples. Therefore the socialist countries actively support the progressive revolutionary-democratic forces and movements which advocate the

*"22d CPSU Congress," Stenographic Report, Moscow, 1962, vol III, pp 262, 263.

socialist option. For their part, the states of a socialist orientation legitimately see the socialist community as their closest and natural friend and cofighter in the common cause.

In the struggle to build a new life the countries of a socialist orientation have to solve very complex problems connected with the shortage of resources and skilled personnel, the resistance of internal counterrevolution and the incessant pressure of the forces of imperialism, which frequently comes to open intervention. Conditions in each of these countries or in a group of similar countries are also different from what was the case previously in other countries and parts of the world and are in themselves highly diverse in our day. Therefore there can be no stereotypes either in the plane of historical analysis or in the practical approach to the solution of the problems confronting this country or the other.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that it is possible to ignore the experience of transformations which has been accumulated by the socialist states and the Soviet Union, particularly its national republics. This experience is essentially universal, and many of its elements are of common significance. It is important, however, that it be studied and collated not dogmatically but with the full equipment of the achievements of Marxist-Leninist theory.

A highly fruitful sphere is opened here, I believe, for the scientific research and popularizing work of the institute's collective. I have in mind an in-depth investigation of the problems of the corresponding states of a socialist orientation, the specific features of their development, the difficulties confronting them and the possible paths of surmounting them. I have in mind the simultaneously skilled collation of the Soviet experience in contrast with the conditions of different states and the popularization of this experience.

World socialism's support for and solidarity with the national liberation movement has been manifested in full measure in the course of the struggle for an end to imperialism's colonial domination and in the course of the struggle against neo-colonialist practices.

I would like to emphasize particularly the need for their joint struggle in the defense of peace and the peoples' security. A new upsurge of the international struggle of the anti-imperialist peace-loving forces has been observed recently in connection with the militarist counteroffensive of imperialism and its attempts to ruin detente, revive the cold war and simultaneously take a neocolonialist revenge. The recent convening in Sofia of the World Parliament of Peoples for Peace was an indication of this.

Tremendous significance is attached to the cohesion of the socialist and liberated states and the workers movement of the capitalist countries and their interaction and mutual support in world affairs for the development of the world movement against the danger of war.

Joint statements and the entire anti-imperialist activity of the workers movement of the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement are essential for ensuring peace and social progress. The combination of the three main streams of the contemporary revolutionary movement--real socialism, the national liberation

movement and the workers movement of the capitalist countries--is designed to play an outstanding part in ensuring the peoples' security and in the revolutionary transformation of the world.

Increased attention to the complex problems of international security and the struggle against imperialist aggression is required of Soviet orientalists in this situation. It is necessary to explain to the broad people's masses of the Afro-Asian states whence the danger of a nuclear war emanates. The enlistment of these masses in active resistance to imperialism and an alliance with the other forces of peace, freedom and socialism is a matter of truly historic significance.

The movement of nonaligned states merits special and constant attention in this connection. An analysis of its development and the struggle of the progressive anti-imperialist forces in it against those who would like to push the movement away from positive positions are questions of great political importance.

The interests of the peoples of the nonaligned states objectively concur with the interests of all those forces in contemporary human society which oppose the aggressive activity of imperialism, support international detente and peace and oppose the unrestrained arms buildup. On the other hand, tremendous damage is being done to the interests of the nonaligned states by the exploitation of their natural resources and the appropriation of the fruits of the labor of the population by imperialism, the monopolies and the entire system of neocolonialism. Galvanization of the foreign policy activity of the countries which are a part of the nonaligned movement is so important and their even more energetic and purposeful struggle against the arms race and against the danger of war and the entire aggressive policy of imperialism is so necessary for this reason.

Serious demands are being made of Soviet oriental science by the prospects of the Soviet Union's political, economic and cultural cooperation with the oriental countries. An in-depth collation of accumulated experience and the development of scientifically substantiated conclusions and proposals which might help us find the optimum solutions in mutual interests and for the purpose of joint struggle against imperialism and the threat of war are essential here.

The tasks confronting you, comrades, are, as you can see, big and difficult and require a further enhancement of the ideological-political level of the research, a further improvement in the organization of scientific work and attention to the most important problems.

The party and the Soviet people expect of orientalists fundamental works collating the new phenomena and trends in the struggle of the oriental peoples and also a prompt analysis of current events.

The Institute of Oriental Studies is the leading center of cooperation with the oriental study scientific establishments both of the European and the Asian socialist states. The institute also maintains diverse cooperation with the orientalists of many other countries--specialists in the field of economics and politics, literary history and linguistics, ideology of the national liberation movement and others. These relations should be strengthened and improved, and we must strive for the high fruitfulness of international cooperation.

Dear comrades! In presenting the high government award--the Order of the Labor Red Banner--at the behest of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium I wholeheartedly wish your collective new work successes.

Academician P.N. Fedoseyev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, speech

Dear comrades!

Permit me on behalf of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and the scientific community to congratulate Soviet orientalists on the award to the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Order of the Labor Red Banner and on the presentation of this high award.

We bear in mind, of course, that the honorary state award is recognition by the party and the government of the considerable services of the collective of the Institute of Oriental Studies, which has been in existence within the Academy of Sciences' framework for half a century now, and an expression of the positive evaluation of our oriental science as a whole. National oriental studies have made a tremendous contribution to the scientific arsenal of our country and to world science. Relying on the achievements and progressive traditions of past generations of orientalists, the collective of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies has multiplied these results and raised them to a new level. The boundaries of traditional oriental studies have been pushed a long way back and the study of the East has been enriched immeasurably as a result of the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory. It was precisely Marxist-Leninist science which told the truth about the situation and historical destiny of the oriental peoples and about their evolutionary potential and creative capabilities.

The warm breath of contemporaneity and the heroic struggle of the oriental people's masses against colonialism and imperialism and for free national development was introduced to oriental science. The vital problems of the developing countries became the center of research activity. Soviet oriental studies acquired high prestige in the developing countries, and our orientalists are deservedly recognized by the public of these countries as good friends.

We can say today that Soviet oriental studies are of importance not only for a study of the oriental countries but also for the development of the Soviet Union's relations and cooperation with these countries.

Soviet orientalists have already done much in science and in the expansion of international contacts, but they still have a great deal to do. The motherland's high award makes incumbent upon them precisely this. Back at the dawn of Soviet power, V.I. Lenin, commenting on the great awakening of the national liberation movement on the Asian continent, called for an intent study of the revolutionary processes in the East and assistance to the peoples' liberation struggle. How topical is the ring of this appeal of Lenin's today, when far-reaching social changes are occurring, the anti-imperialist movement is broadening and the struggle for peace and social progress is strengthening in the oriental countries!

Soviet orientalists are confronted with exceptionally responsible tasks connected with a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the profound socioeconomic changes and political and ideological processes currently occurring in Asia and Africa. This is a very

important field for the institute's scientists, and, I believe, fruitful work in this field will represent a worthy contribution to Soviet oriental studies. Of course, this work presupposes not the winding down but the further development of traditional study of the history and culture of the oriental peoples.

We profoundly believe that the collective of the Institute of Oriental Studies—one of the Academy of Sciences' most important humanities institutes—will cope successfully with these research tasks.

In congratulating the collective of the Institute of Oriental Studies on the high government award the Academy of Sciences Presidium wishes you and all Soviet orientologists new work successes and new scientific accomplishments for the good of the peoples.

Academician Ye.M. Primakov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies, speech

Dear Comrades!

The collective of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies expresses profound gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Soviet Government and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, outstanding statesman of the present day, personally for the high evaluation of our work. The award of the party and government inspires us to new scientific accomplishments and selfless labor for the good of Soviet science.

Comrade B.N. Ponomarev emphasized in his speech that the present international situation and the events unfolding in the contemporary East set our institute important and responsible tasks.

The forces of imperialist reaction, which are endeavoring to return mankind to the times of the cold war, have stepped up their activity extraordinarily recently. These forces are displaying particular activeness currently in the Asian region.

This galvanization of the forces of imperialism in Asia is occurring against the background of the complicated processes in the Asian and African countries themselves. There is no single Orient in our day. The most progressive group of Afro-Asian countries has embarked on the path of socialism or opted for a socialist orientation. Other liberated countries which have embarked on the capitalist path differ from one another in level of development, extent of the preservation of feudal vestiges and stage of formation of new classes and social strata. At the same time traditional structures in all spheres of their material and spiritual life are strong even in the most developed states of the region. Together with the common regularities inherent in it, all this also imparts great distinctiveness to the revolutionary process in the oriental countries.

Attention was drawn to this distinctiveness by V.I. Lenin even, speaking of the social conditions and the revolutionary process in the East. He pointed out the need to find "distinctive forms...of an alliance of the progressive proletarians of the whole world with the oriental working people and exploited masses often living under medieval conditions."* The CPSU's activity is geared to the accomplishment

*V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 39, p 329.

of this task. We orientalists are called on to give all our efforts, knowledge and energy to a cause of tremendous importance--investigation of the general and the particular in the development of the countries and regions being studied and the revolutionary process in the East.

The Institute of Oriental Studies is one of the oldest institutes in the system of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Its history goes back to the first Russian oriental academic establishments created back at the start of the 19th century--the Department of Oriental Languages and Literature and the Asian Museum. The Institute of Oriental Studies has been a part of the USSR Academy of Sciences for 50 years now.

The history of Russian oriental studies is rich in illustrious names and outstanding researchers. However, despite all their achievements, prerevolutionary oriental studies were of an elitist nature to a considerable extent and concentrated their attention mainly on the problems of philology and ancient and medieval history. New Soviet oriental studies based on Marxist-Leninist methodology began with the Great October Socialist Revolution. For the first time oriental research was closely combined with practice. Orientalists embarked on a study of the most important problems of the Asian and African peoples' national liberation struggle and made their contribution to economic and cultural building in the republics of the Soviet East. Oriental science was joined by communist scholars and workers of the Communist International, who did a considerable amount in development of the strategy and tactics of the national liberation movement in the East. The new ideas also captured the minds of the older generation of Russian orientalists. Such of their eminent representatives as academicians V.V. Bartol'd, B.Ya. Vladimirtsov, F.I. Shcherbatskoy, I.Yu. Krachkovskiy, V.A. Gordlevskiy and others produced their most valuable works precisely in the Soviet period. The connection of the generations is an important tradition of Soviet oriental studies which our institute carefully preserves.

Soviet oriental studies is a party science in the highest degree. Oriental studies are characterized by the organic combination of scientific approach and revolutionary spirit and are imbued with the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism. We endeavor to ensure that our works are not divorced from real life and the burning problems of the contemporary East. They are intended to serve the formulation of the scientifically substantiated policy of our party and our state and help the fighters for national recovery and social progress in the oriental countries.

Soviet oriental studies at the current stage can develop only as a comprehensive scientific discipline. The institute's collective is striving after precisely this comprehensiveness in its work. The reference here is not simply to the association of people of various oriental specialties under one roof but to the integration in a single research process of the work of specialists of various branches of knowledge (historians, sociologists, economists, philologists and others).

Such comprehensiveness by no means signifies a slackening of attention to the traditional areas of Russian and Soviet oriental studies. On the contrary, these areas are enjoying a second wind, as it were. They are acquiring a firm connection with practice and participating in the solution of major general theoretical problems. At the same time work is unfolding based on traditional historical, philological and linguistic research on a study of topical national-ethnic and cultural problems, questions of the ideological struggle and the role of traditions in the

contemporary political life of the East. The comprehensive nature of oriental studies is also displayed in the fact that this science is intended to simultaneously investigate the distant past, analyze present-day problems and forecast the future development of the most important processes in the Afro-Asian region.

In accomplishing the tasks set Soviet orientologists by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium the scientists of our institute are endeavoring to contribute to the creation of an integral Marxist-Leninist concept of the historical process in the East. A number of studies attempts to collate the experience of the revolutionary movement in the East, reveal its present-day singularities and general characteristics and show the growth of the impact of the ideas and experience of real socialism on the peoples of Asia and Africa. We have endeavored and continue to endeavor to study the new role of the liberated states in the system of contemporary international relations and the reasons for the emergence of centers of tension and conflicts in the Afro-Asian region. Problems connected with an analysis of oriental languages and their typology have been elaborated by linguist-orientologists. Certain essential characteristics of the literary process in the East have been revealed. The publications and translations of unique manuscript oriental monuments are of undoubted scientific and general cultural significance.

Our institute is by no means the sole oriental studies center in the Soviet Union. Numerous oriental study scientific establishments have emerged in the period of Soviet power in the republics of Central Asia and the trans-Caucasus. The oriental study centers of Siberia and the Far East have been developing their activity successfully in recent years. The newly created USSR Academy of Sciences institutes of Africa and the Far East have become important research centers. A large group of orientologists is also working in the country's VUZ's. The coordinating functions entrusted to our institute acquire particular significance under these conditions. After all, the responsible tasks entrusted to us by the party and government can only be accomplished by the joint efforts of all the country's orientologists.

Together with all our motherland's working people the collective of the Institute of Oriental Studies is preparing for a fitting greeting of the 26th party congress. On the threshold of the congress we are concentrating our attention on as yet unresolved problems.

We realize that the current situation demands that Soviet orientologists develop extensive research into the most topical problems of the development of Asia and North Africa, create truly fundamental works of a summary nature and concentrate attention on an analysis of the new phenomena and trends in the Afro-Asian region. The situation demands the mobilization of our efforts aimed also at a critique of bourgeois concepts of social development in the East and exposure of the means and methods of imperialist and Maoist propaganda aimed against real socialism and the world communist movement. Many problems of oriental history and culture await solution, and the organization of oriental studies requires further refinement.

The tasks set us by the party are great and crucial. Inspired by the motherland's high award, the institute's collective assures the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Soviet Government that it will lend all its forces to the accomplishment of these tasks.

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INTERNATIONAL

EXPERTS' VIEWS ON FORMING NATIONAL, CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN THIRD WORLD

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, 1981 (signed to press 13 Jan 81)
pp 174-193

[Review by Aleksandr Vladimirovich Gordon, candidate of historical sciences, scientific assistant of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences and specialist in the ideology and history of the national liberation movement: "Soviet Orientalists and Africanists on the Processes of the Formation of National and Class Consciousness in the Liberated Countries (1976-1980)"]

[Text] With the formation of liberated states the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa entered a new phase of its development and appreciable changes occurred in its nature and content. The main area of these changes is, as observed in the material of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, the extension of the social character of the national liberation movement expressed, in particular, in the fact that "the struggle for national liberation in many countries has begun in practice to grow into a struggle against exploiter relationships, both feudal and capitalist."¹ The class struggle and the processes of the delimitation and consolidation of class forces are having the most direct impact on the sphere of the liberated countries' social consciousness. At the same time the processes of the formation of nations and the conception and development of national statehood are strikingly expressed in this sphere. The parallel course of these processes and, correspondingly, the simultaneous formation of the national and class consciousness of the basic strata of the postcolonial societies are attracting the ever increasing attention of research scholars in our country. Soviet orientalist and Africanist consider this combination of two processes which are different in nature and the intricate and specific interweaving of the national and social in the social life of the liberated countries an important distinguishing feature of the current stage of the national liberation movement.

An analysis of the diversity and unity in the young states' ideological-political life has a considerable place in the literature under review. Class differentiation as a consequence of the processes broadly termed "modernization" on the one hand and the preserved multistructure of the postcolonial societies on the other give rise to the exceptional richness and variety of the sphere of social consciousness in the countries in question. Together with ideological forms reflecting the consolidation of the basic classes of modern society--the proletariat and bourgeoisie--and the formation of contemporary middle strata there are here, as k.N. Brutents emphasizes, "elements of the social consciousness of groups engendered not only by

feudal but patriarchal-communal relationships even."² This "ideological multi-structure," particularly the processes of polarization within the framework of the new structures, not to mention the differences between countries (primarily the delimitation of states of a socialist³ and capitalist orientation) should, it would seem, call in question the legitimacy of distinguishing the ideology of the national liberation movement as an integral phenomenon with, despite all the contradictions and varieties, a definite common basis. But the majority of Soviet experts is convinced that such an integrality is preserved and that it is therefore necessary to distinguish the common features.

The national liberation movement, K.V. Brutents writes, is becoming "highly complex and inwardly contradictory, and the developing countries increasingly diverse. Nevertheless, against the background of the life of a given region there are very many important features of a common nature or, at least, of the same type which must obviously form the basis of any summarizing investigation of the problem of the developing countries, the more so if it is a question of ideological problems, where common elements are particularly noticeable and their exposure is particularly important."⁴ It may be stated that in the period under review Soviet orientalists and Africanists have conducted their research in both areas--they have endeavored to reveal in the ideology of the present-day national liberation movement and the ideological-political life of the liberated countries both the diversity and inner unity.

The variety of ideologies in the developing societies is revealed most strikingly in the various attempts at systematization. The more the research scholars aspire to greater precision, the longer the list of the ideological types they distinguish. Thus characterizing non-Marxist ideological currents in the developing countries, L.R. Polonskaya and A.Kh. Vafa cite seven types of such currents: "semifeudal," representing the "interests of strata connected with the prebourgeois social structures and prebourgeois social institutions"; "bourgeois-conservative and bourgeois-liberal"; three petit bourgeois currents, of which the right "expresses predominantly the proprietary interests of the peasantry and petite bourgeoisie and also the social conservatism of the lumpenproletariat," the left "the radicalism of the petite bourgeoisie" and the intermediate its "duality"; and, finally, the ideology of revolutionary democracy⁵ (in turn, some specialists discern several types of concepts in the ideology of revolutionary democracy also).

At the same time the same authors emphasize the presence of an "ideological nucleus" and common basis bringing close together all the ideological currents they distinguish, namely, nationalism. "Nationalism," they write, "continues to leave its imprint on the approach of non-Marxist theorists to the solution of all problems of the social development of Asian and African countries. This is an indisputable fact which has been theoretically substantiated in Marxist literature and corroborated in practice.... By virtue of the fact that the national-colonial question has been at the center of the ideological life of the Afro-Asian countries, nationalism has become the ideological nucleus of non-Marxist currents."⁶

The vast literature on nationalism in the liberated countries is testimony to the significance which Soviet scholars attach to this subject. Surveying it in the period from the end of the 1950's through the mid-1970's, V.A. Ten observe⁷: "The problem of nationalism is examined to this extent or the other by the authors of virtually all works devoted -- the downfall of the colonial system and the history

of the national liberation movement and the domestic and foreign policy situation, socioeconomic development and ideological struggle in the young Asian and African states."⁷ This trend was preserved in the latter half of the 1970's also. In addition to a collective monograph of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies' "Development Paths of the Oriental Liberated Countries" series specially devoted to present-day nationalism⁸ the majority of the works surveyed had chapters, sections or separate articles illustrating the problem of nationalism in the liberated countries, and this problem is touched on in one way or another in all the works without exception. The idea of the natural regularity of nationalism at the current stage of the development of the liberated countries is pursued distinctly and sometimes polemically even in the surveyed literature.

"Anti-imperialist nationalism," R.A. Ul'yanovskiy writes, "is in the current period the predominant force in the former colonial and semicolonial countries. It represents a characteristic stage of the political development of the peoples liberated from colonialism or still struggling for independence. It would be wrong to suppose that it may be overcome by putting forward slogans and appeals for a renunciation of nationalism to the liberated peoples. It is deeply rooted in the people's masses, particularly among the peasantry and intermediate strata, is surrounded by an aura of many years of unequal struggle against foreign domination and is fused with religious feelings and religious beliefs (Islam, Buddhism) and with moral values inherited from antiquity and the Middle Ages."⁹

In substantiating the natural regularity of nationalism in Asia and Africa and explaining the reasons for its domination in the present-day ideological-political life of the liberated countries Soviet scholars draw attention primarily to the historical sources of this phenomenon and its deep-rooted nature in the sphere of the social consciousness. "The inception and development of nationalism in countries which have experienced alien colonial oppression," A.A. Iskenderov observes, "is a historically regular phenomenon. Having emerged in the soil of anti-imperialist and anticolonial aspirations and imbibed the feelings of an oppressed nation, nationalism is an expression of protest against foreign domination and a struggle for the restoration of national dignity."¹⁰ Of course, the penetration of the bourgeois ideology of the West, particularly democratic and cultural views, which was one of the secondary results of colonial expansion,¹¹ contributed to anti-colonial nationalism taking shape as an ideological system. But nationalism derived its strength and capacity for being the ideology of a mass movement in the spontaneous reaction of the masses to the invasion of foreigners and in the development of a sense of protest against national oppression and an aspiration to the restoration of national dignity, in short, in the inception and strengthening of national self-awareness. As Soviet literature points out, it was precisely "the growth of national self-awareness which nurtured the ideology of the national liberation movement."¹²

This growth has been a significant phenomenon of the process of the national revival of the Asian and African peoples, which was by no means completed with their winning the right to national statehood. First, the variety of ethnic, linguistic and religious strife and territorial disputes are a constant reminder of the incompleteness of the building of nations in many countries on these continents. Second, colonialism has been replaced by a new form of lack of freedom connected primarily with economic independence. The economic, social and cultural weakness of the

postcolonial societies is undermining the young states' international position. In reaching the foreground of world politics they have been compelled to struggle for a worthy place therein.

Thus nationalism in the liberated states is not only a legacy of the past; its significance is also brought about by the present-day tasks confronting these states and their domestic and international situation. Nor is it yet possible to speak of the completion of the process of the formation of a national consciousness. The nationalism of the Afro-Asian peoples reflects not only the growing strength of their national self-awareness but also its weakness and underdevelopment. At the time of its inception the national consciousness of oppressed peoples frequently manifested itself, in the words of an ideologist of the national liberation movement, in the "crudest, most undifferentiated nationalism" and in a sweeping rejection of everything connected with the colonialists, be it European culture or the technical achievements of the Western countries, and in a stubborn "clinging" to everything that seemed "national property," be it the most stagnant and even harmful and suicidal customs like blood vengeance.¹³

The formation of the national consciousness and anticolonial ideology of oppressed peoples was for many long years programmed, as it were, by the singularities of colonial oppression and the racism of colonial ideology. Inasmuch as spiritual enslavement was a consequence and part of colonial oppression, spiritual emancipation has become a goal of the national liberation struggle. To the colonialists' disparagement of the history of the people they oppressed was counterposed its exaltation; to the deliberate and unwitting destruction of national culture an endeavor to revive its values; to the suppression of the national and human dignity of the oppressed the defense of their national dignity and humanism. The ideology of the national liberation movement, A.N. Nosenko observes on the basis of the example of the African countries, has taken shape as "an ideology of the revival of the national spirit and national culture rejected and abused by the domination of an alien Western culture and Western way of thought.... The spiritual dictatorship of Western culture was based on the importunate counterposing of the 'civilized white man'--the purveyor of culture and progress--to the 'uncivilized barbarian negro,' who has absolutely no concept of culture.... Whence the passion with which educated representatives of the former colonies seek philosophical substantiation of the seemingly so natural idea that the African negro is a full-fledged person capable of material and spiritual creativity with an illustrious historical past and his own original culture."¹⁴ Given this "passion" provoked by colonialist racism, anticolonial ideology has also acquired at times features of "antiracist racism."

After the winning of independence, the struggle for national self-awareness has acquired new features, but its acuteness has by no means diminished. The national dignity of the peoples liberated from colonial oppression is wounded by the increasing poverty of broad strata of the population and their chronic malnutrition and the constant threat of mass starvation. While suffering both physically and morally from these faults of underdevelopment the peoples of the liberated states are at the same time insulted by deep dependence on foreign assistance, the foreign monopolies' lordship in the economy and the economic lagging behind the Western countries. The struggle for a national culture is of no less bitter a nature than the struggle for a national economy. Thanks to the development of mass communications media, the "display effect" of the Western way of life, which is strikingly described in various

works of Soviet orientalist and Africanist, has increased sharply. The export of the mass culture of the bourgeois West has reached the village, which the ideologists of the national liberation movement saw as the last and, they believed, indestructible stronghold of national culture in its original form.

Under conditions where neocolonialist expansion is spreading, as the surveyed literature emphasizes, in all the most important areas and where new wounds are being inflicted on the national dignity of the liberated peoples, who have yet to recover from the injuries caused by colonial oppression, the formation of a national consciousness cannot be a process of normal maturation and progressive harmonious growth. Even after the winning of national independence, this is an agonizingly strained process blocked by objective circumstances and internal contradictions. Therefore, in the first place, its interaction with the formation of class consciousness acquires particular complexity in the liberated countries.

At the same time, as mentioned, the processes of the formation of class consciousness in these countries are also far from being complete. This has already been revealed quite distinctly in the above-mentioned attempts at systematization of the ideological phenomena in the contemporary social life of the liberated countries, which show that their diversity, which takes the shape of an "ideological multi-structure" of the entire sphere of the social consciousness of the postcolonial societies,¹⁵ is primarily a consequence of the incompleteness of the processes of class formation here. Thus having taken as the basis of their systematization of the ideological currents in the contemporary Asian and African countries the categories which had been developed at the time of an analysis of developed capitalist societies ("bourgeois," "petit bourgeois"), L.R. Polonskaya and A.Kh. Vafa were forced to add to them categories relating to transitional societies: "semifeudal" and "revolutionary-democratic." Their separation of three (!) "petit bourgeois" currents (not to mention the specially noted revolutionary-democratic ideology) is very characteristic. This shows, I believe, the difficulties which the authors encountered in characterizing the ideology of the so-called intermediate strata (that is, nonproletarian strata which are at the same time not part of the bourgeoisie) in contemporary Asian and African societies, and these difficulties reflect the objective complexity and incompleteness of the processes linked with the formation of class consciousness among the representatives of these strata.

The problem of the formation of class consciousness among the basic classes and strata of postcolonial societies is touched on in greater depth and in direct connection with the formation of national consciousness in attempts to define the social nature of present-day nationalism in the liberated countries. Assertions that nationalism always and everywhere can only be bourgeois are still encountered; but the majority of Soviet scholars, particularly among specialists on the developing countries, are coming to the opinion that the definition "bourgeois" expresses insufficiently fully the essence of that anti-imperialist ideology which nationalism is in these countries and that its social nature is varied. More often than not in Soviet works the definition "bourgeois" neighbors the definition "petit bourgeois," and it is emphasized that the social nature of nationalism may be petit bourgeois also.¹⁶

Emphasis of the dynamics in the correlation of petit bourgeois and bourgeois nationalism and the opinion as to the diminution in the significance of bourgeois nationalism proper in the ideological-political life of the liberated countries are

characteristic of the works of the period under review. "The banner of nationalism and religion," G.I. Mirskiy writes, "is currently being borrowed by other forces from the bourgeoisie."¹⁷ Defining the class nature of these forces, G.P. Kim and L.M. Polonskaya point out: "The new correlation of the national and the social in the contemporary sociopolitical thought of the developing countries is manifested primarily in the fact that it is not so much bourgeois nationalism as nationalist ideological currents refracting national self-awareness through the prism of the interests of the petite bourgeoisie and other nonproletarian social strata which has become widespread."¹⁸

As is clear from what we have quoted, amplification of the definition "bourgeois" with the definition "petit bourgeois" also fails to satisfy Soviet scholars endeavoring to express more fully the social diversity reflected in the nationalist currents of the liberated countries. Widespread use of the term "petit bourgeois" to describe them corresponded to a certain extent to the opinion which had evolved at the end of the 1960's and start of the 1970's that the preponderance of small-scale commodity production structures and the relative weakness of the national bourgeoisie and industrial proletariat lent greater significance to the petite bourgeoisie in these regions than it had and has in the West. This opinion took shape as a counterweight, as A.I. Levkovskiy writes, "to the fetishization of the significance of the national bourgeoisie," which had prevented "differentiation of the other class forces which, as a whole, were proceeding behind it (or together with it)."¹⁹ There emerged an exaggeration of the role and place of the petite bourgeoisie in the developing countries' economic, political and ideological life partially owing to this critical pointedness in a number of works of the corresponding period. Identification of any petty producer with the petit bourgeois and, consequently, classifying the peasant masses, all craftsmen and petty tradesmen as the petite bourgeoisie became the subject of criticism first of economists and then of orientologists and Africanists representing other branches of learning.²⁰

"A significant proportion of the so-called independent proprietors," E.N. Brutents states, "does not belong to the petite bourgeoisie proper, as it exists in societies with a modern class structure. They frequently have a certain patina of both a medieval patriarchal character and lumpen-type pauperism. Therefore there is no doubt concerning a certain conditional character of the application of the term 'petite bourgeoisie' in respect of these groups and the need for a specific approach which does not stop at ideas concerning the petite bourgeoisie."²¹ The need for such an approach is also championed by other scholars, including those specializing in the ideological problems of Asia and Africa. "In certain studies," V.G. Khoros writes, "the attribute of membership of the petite bourgeoisie as applied to specific ideological directions of the developing countries appears to be too general a bracket. All ideological fluctuations and singularities of this current or the other and this zigzag of political thought or the other are frequently 'ribbed' from the petit bourgeois condition. The critical reaction against such an indiscriminate approach is understandable and legitimate...."²² The concept of the petit bourgeoisie as the social base of this ideology or the other in the developing countries is in need of revelation and amplification."²³

As an alternative to the broad use of the petit bourgeois concept in the ideological sphere, particularly to the explanation on this basis of "all ideological fluctuations" and "zigzags of political thought" typical of the postcolonial societies, we should point to the broadening understanding of the fact that the contradictoriness

of an ideological current could be explained by the heterogeneity of the ingredients of its social nature, which cannot be reduced to some common denominator. Upon a concrete analysis of this ideological current or the other we frequently encounter in the surveyed works emphasis of the "conglomerate nature" or "composite character" of the corresponding ideology, that is, the expression therein of the views and interests of various strata of the postcolonial society. "The contemporary ideological panorama in the Asian and African developing countries is characterized by the fact that 'many ideological concepts are of a composite character'²⁴ and reflect the concern not of one but several strata or classes to surmount economic, political and cultural backwardness on an anti-imperialist basis," V.I. Makatlenko observes, citing the example of Destourian socialism in Tunisia.²⁵

The social heterogeneity of the ideological currents in the liberated countries which are the prevailing currents in this or the other of them is pointed to particularly often. Thus, emphasizing "the divisibility and multitier nature of their ideological-political life," L.R. Polonskaya and A.Kh. Vafa write, inter alia, of the "need to draw attention to such a distinctive type of the ideological currents which have taken shape in the period of independence as the so-called official ideology of the ruling circles, whose content reflects the interests not only of the ruling classes proper but also the broad social strata on whose support these classes count."²⁶ Other authors²⁷ also write about this singularity of the ideology of the ruling groups of various liberated countries, employing various terms--"development ideology," "rational ideology," "state nationalism," "nationalist statism."

The coexistence among different strata of the colonial and postcolonial societies, together with the class consciousness taking shape, of a form of social consciousness noted by I.A. Levkovskiy which he terms a "coalition consciousness" may be regarded as a prerequisite of this ideological "conglomerate character" related to the views not only of the ruling circles but also of a far broader social environment. The reference here is to views and ideas which are determined by a given stratum's membership of this interclass coalition or the other formed on the basis of a more or less stable concurrence of the interests of its participants. The anti-imperialist coalitions emerging in the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialist expansion are primarily cited as an example. "Coalition" and class consciousness, I.A. Levkovskiy writes, "are most closely interconnected and interconditioned to a certain extent, but not identical. There is not a parallel development. On the contrary, these two forms of social consciousness usually mature unevenly and could oppress and impede each other's growth."²⁸

In such a conglomerate of ideas and concepts, which are different in social content and, at times, opposite in class directivity, as are the "national ideology" of this liberated country or the other and its basis--"coalition consciousness"--there is nonetheless a certain ideological dominant. The interests and sentiments of some classes and strata are expressed here more strongly, and the voices of others are tuned to their pitch to this extent or the other. For this reason the presence of a conglomerate character exerts a different influence on the formation of the class consciousness of different strata of the postcolonial societies. As Soviet orientalist and Africanists observe, realization of their class interests is impeded to a greater extent among representatives of the nonbourgeois strata, primarily the proletariat.

The anticolonial thrust of nationalism, A.I. Levkovskiy writes, "corresponded to the interests of an oppressed people and the overwhelming part of their working and propertied classes. Not one of them could become a 'class for itself,' ignoring the fundamental problem of colonialism." And under the conditions of postcolonial development also the "national tasks of the liberation struggle are the vital concern of the working class." But the "nationalist form of coalition liberation struggle," which is "natural" for the national bourgeoisie or petite bourgeoisie, fetters the class conception of the proletariat. "Therefore the development of the proletariat simultaneously signifies its promotion and championing of the ideas of proletarian internationalism, its true ideology.... The achievement by the proletariat (at first, of course, by its foremost detachments) of ideological independence and the extension of its ideological influence to other working people's classes and sections proceed in an intense ideological clash and through the surmounting of the growing reactionary-conservative aspects of nationalism and, ultimately, through it entirely."²⁹

The domination of nationalism in the ideological-political life of the developing countries is an important reason for the delay in the formation of the class consciousness of the proletariat and its class conception as a whole. "Despite," K.F. Brutents writes, "the considerable achievements of the proletariat of previously enslaved countries and the successes of its vanguard--the communist parties--in the majority of liberated states the young working class still has to become aware of its leading role in social development.... The shifts in the working class toward the formation of its class maturity proceed slowly.... The majority of Marxist-Leninist parties of the Asian and African nonsocialist countries has not yet accomplished the goal of becoming mass parties, and a preponderance of the working class remains outside of their influence.... The proletarians frequently continue to act not on their own behalf but fight 'under another's flag,' remaining under the influence of bourgeois and petit bourgeois forces."³⁰

The process of the formation of the peasant consciousness proceeds in even more intricate fashion. "The political 'buildup' connected with the anticolonial struggle," the same author observes, "affected the countryside more or less extensively, and national self-awareness was stirred and strengthened and certain political experience was accumulated among certain strata of the peasantry." But "while acting as a mass force of the national liberation movement and an important prop of its progressive groups, the peasantry imparted to it more than just a strong anti-imperialist impetus; it also brought with it the sentiments of rebellion and illusions of the possibility of changing its lot and doing away with the harsh conditions of its existence 'at a stroke'." The peasant "masses are incorporated in the process of the transformation of society often leading to a socialist orientation in a primordial form, so to speak. Whence follow to a considerable extent the distinctiveness of the contemporary course of the progressive process in a given region, its successes and also its difficulties and zigzags and its reverse steps and direct defeats."³¹

The influence of nationalism on the peasant consciousness is common knowledge, the impact of peasant nationalism on the young states' sociopolitical life is emphasized extensively, and at the present time the impact of peasant religiosity has also come to be observed just as extensively. Religious consciousness has for the peasantry been a predecessor of national consciousness. This world religion or the other afforded the peasants an awareness of a community beyond the confines of their

self-sufficient community-collectives. Religion sanctified national statehood and, with the loss of it under the blows of the colonialists, remained a most important symbol of national independence. And religious consciousness still takes the place of national consciousness in the countryside of many developing countries,³² which undoubtedly testifies primarily to the underdevelopment of this latter among the peasantry.

The negative impact of patriarchal-communal ideas on the formation of national consciousness among the peasants is even more apparent. These ideas, like religiosity, are fettering the development of class consciousness among the peasants. "In the period of the struggle of a number of oriental countries for national independence," B.G. Gafurov wrote, "the preclass features of the social mentality of the rural masses (the sense of tribal, ethnic and also religious community) in certain instances objectively stimulated hatred of the colonialists and this struggle. But after the achievement of independence, the preservation of these features began to perform a manifestly negative role in the vast majority of cases, severely impeding the cultivation of the working people's class self-awareness."³³

As certain works (unfortunately, even in the period under review there were far from sufficient studies of the peasantry to cover the entire range of these problems) show, the process of the formation of the political consciousness of the peasantry proceeds both in class and national form at very much a checked pace, and it is only possible to speak of an approach to the stage of maturity merely by individual detachments of the peasantry. "The first step on the path of the formation of the class consciousness of the peasantry," Zh.D. Smirenskaya, the author of the sole summary work on this subject, writes, "is a semiconscious hostility toward the immediate exploiter." But "historical practice shows that even this so elemental feeling of hostility toward the exploiter, not complicated by any archaic motivations, was itself a product of prolonged historical development and a product of relatively mature social relationships.... Ethnic communal and religious strife, despotic statehood with its strong administrative-political and ideological influence and later in many Asian countries conditions of colonial oppression, erecting barriers before the economic isolation of individuals and objectively strengthening consolidation of traditional type, checked the restructuring of the social consciousness of the peasantry for many centuries." As a result elements of the traditional patriarchal spirit and even traces of an archaic consciousness going back to the primitive state can be observed together with features of class character in the contemporary consciousness of the Asian peasantry.³⁴

The undeveloped state of political consciousness among the peasants and the slowness of the formation of a class consciousness among the proletariat of the liberated countries have a reciprocally negative influence on one another. On the one hand the patriarchal-communal ideas, religiosity and other features of the traditional peasant consciousness--everything which some authors term the "peasant mentality"--are a burden on the conception of the proletarian consciousness. On the other hand, the weakness of the proletarian influence is obvious in peasant behavior in various Afro-Asian countries and in the phenomenon of the political "primitive state" of the peasant masses; only a proletariat which has achieved class maturity is capable of the role of political educator of other strata of the people of labor, primarily the peasantry.

in the situation of the general underdevelopment of the political consciousness of the working people's masses the interaction of the processes of the formation of their class and national consciousness has specific and, as a whole, unfavorable consequences. The opinion is expressed in Soviet literature that "under the conditions of the domination of foreign imperialism and the weakness of the local bourgeoisie the national self-awareness of the oppressed population, crushed by indigence and ignorance, of liberated countries and those which are liberating themselves, is essentially an elemental form of class consciousness."³⁵ While rejecting the excessively categorical nature of this statement, which creates the impression of the identical nature of the two types of social consciousness, it has to be admitted that a correct concept of their rapprochement at the current stage of the national liberation movement is expressed here as a whole. The rapprochement and interweaving even of the national and social in the social life of the liberated countries has diverse consequences for the sphere of social consciousness. The same author correctly writes: "The strengthening of national self-awareness leads to a rise in class consciousness."³⁶ However, this formula has a reverse side also. The weakness and agonizing ripening of the national consciousness oppresses, in turn, the development of the class consciousness of the basic strata of the postcolonial societies. At the same time the undeveloped class consciousness exerts a deforming influence on the development of the national consciousness.

The underdevelopment of class consciousness is contributing to the fact that the class struggle is perceived in nationalist categories of the hostility of the national to everything of a different nationality, ethnic differences substitute for class contradictions and so forth. On the other hand, the perception of international and international relations in the categories of class struggle and class antagonism may be explained to a considerable extent by the underdevelopment of national consciousness and its traumatized character. Certain concepts of "tri-continentalism"--the counterposing of the developing countries as "proletarian nations" to all the others, their identification with the "world village" exploited by the "world city" and others--may serve as well-known examples.

Being insufficiently developed, upon interaction national and class consciousness engender ideological forms in which the national and the social are found in relationships of mutual complementarity and mutual penetration. The most striking and extensively described example in Soviet literature are the so-called national socialisms. "The nationalist coloration," K.N. Brutents observes, "reflects the general ideological atmosphere in which the above-mentioned concepts are formed, as equally the fact that nationalism is one of their ideological predecessors and sources. In addition, this is a manifestation, hypothetically speaking, of a certain 'retreat' of nationalism, which frequently operates not entirely independently but dwells under the roof of 'socialist' theories.... The opposite process--the profound impact of these ideas on other components of the concepts in question--occurs simultaneously."³⁷ In speaking of the "retreat" of nationalism K.N. Brutents refers to its certain historical evolution under the influence of the magnetic forces in the masses of the ideas of socialism reflecting the formation of class consciousness in them. But, of course, theoretically "national socialisms" represent primarily a "departure" from scientific socialism and the "transformation and more or less significant--depending on the political positions of the proponents of these concepts--distortion" of its propositions.³⁸ It is also precisely the same in a variety of the "national socialisms" which have become prevalent, particularly recently. In the "religious socialisms" Soviet authors disclose the "retreat" of

religion also, the evolution of religious dogmatics, its adaptation under the influence of the magnetic force of socialist ideas and the adapted, transformed interpretation of the latter.

As a result, such theories, K.N. Brutents writes, "are of a composite nature to a considerable extent. Bourgeois authors frequently call them 'eclectic socialism' even. Together with elements of traditional ideology borrowings from various ideological sources, at times even incompatible, occupy a considerable place in and exist alongside them."³⁹

Soviet experts reveal features of this "eclecticism" in various, including revolutionary-democratic, concepts. Describing the platform of the Burma Socialist Program Party, which was promulgated at the start of the 1960's, R.A. Ul'yanovskiy pointed out: "The traditions of the domestic spiritual inheritance (...in the form of Hinayana Buddhism) and Marxism-Leninism and certain teachings of the West...predominantly in the form of bourgeois individualism in its Bentham-Mill version of utilitarianism and rational egoism served as the ideological sources of the formation of the program to a certain extent."⁴⁰

At first sight it might appear that this is pure eclectics. But Soviet experts consider such an approach an oversimplification. "J. Nehru's philosophy of life," R.A. Ul'yanovskiy writes, "was formed under the influence of many schools.... It may be thought: Nehru was not original, he was an eclectic, and that is that. But Nehru was far more complex, and in a study of his views a simplified approach is impermissible."⁴¹ "The contradictoriness characteristic of many of the young states' ideological formations," V.G. Khoros emphasizes, "and the combination in them of the seemingly uncombinable--traditionalism and modernism, radicalism and conservatism, nationalism and socialism and so forth--are in need of explanation."⁴²

This answer or the other to this complex question, which is important in a study of the contemporary ideological-political life of the liberated countries, and elements of the necessary explanation are present in various works of the period under review. The contradictory combination of socialism and nationalism, which is characteristic of the contemporary ideology of the national liberation movement, and the mass propagation of such "composite" ideological formations as "national socialisms" can largely be explained, as we see, by the distinctive correlation in the developing countries of the national and class consciousness of the basic strata of the postcolonial society which is taking shape and, the main point, by the underdevelopment of the class consciousness of the working people's masses preventing their adequate perception of socialist ideas. A definite connection may be traced between these processes and the coexistence within the framework of the same ideological currents of the liberated countries of modernistic and antimodernistic elements and traditionalism and antitraditionalism.

The main attention here should be paid to the singularities of the formation of the national consciousness. As has already been said, the past, the precolonial past, of oppressed peoples was a permanent value in the ideology of the national liberation movement for the people's masses everywhere and invariably regarded the anticolonial struggle as a struggle for the restoration of idealized precolonial practices. And that which is connected or seems to be connected with the precolonial past is still surrounded by a special aura in the mass consciousness of the liberated countries. A new national community is taking shape based on the traditions of the

past, and the national consciousness which is being formed is imbibing elements of the traditional consciousness.

This is noted in a number of the surveyed works. "Revival of the national culture and turning to the achievements of the past and the historical heroic spirit are important elements of national ideology," B.S. Yerasov writes. "The appeal to such factors of cultural unity as language, ethnic and territorial community, the frame of mind and the 'community of fate of experiences,' on the basis of which nationalism endeavors to establish the national community of the population, is assuming great significance." It is not only a matter of nationalism nor simply the rational choice of this ideologist or the other of the liberated countries; the need to turn to national history and cultural traditions is literally imposed on them. "The spiritual condition of the people's masses," the same author writes, "requires of all the democratic forces that they turn to traditional standards and religious beliefs, which can neither be ignored nor overcome in a short time. The customary moral precepts and popular beliefs, habits and 'myths and totems' serve as an irreplaceable means of the formation of an ideology intelligible to the consciousness of the people's masses and touching on the accepted forms of mentality and awareness of the world."⁴³

Under such conditions political and public figures of the Afro-Asian countries--people who acquired, as a rule, a modern European education and who understood the entire need for transformations of the traditional society and the harm of certain traditions and the conservatism of traditionalism as a whole--were unable, while remaining ideologists of the national liberation movement, to adopt the standpoint of modernization in its entirety. In addition, the liberated countries very soon realized that modernization is not only the assimilation of European culture and the scientific-technical achievements of the West, political democracy and economic growth and not simply the arrangement of social life "according to the model and in the likeness of the Europeans" and the "assimilation of their habits and customs and their manners of behavior and speech"⁴⁴ and that the main consequence of modernization is increased dependence on the West, which is manifested equally acutely in both the cultural and economic spheres.

To the phenomena of the "Western way of life" in one sphere--the spread of utilitarianism and the growth of bribe-taking and greed in the upper strata of society and consumer proclivities in the masses--there corresponded increased dependence on foreign aid in another. This dependence did not simply increase, the nature of the aid changed. Not only industrial equipment but also automobiles for the "elite" and not only food but also so-called consumer goods for the masses are being received in increasing quantities from the West. As Soviet economists have observed, the very system of social requirements in the developing countries has begun to take shape under the influence of the West, predetermining the corresponding paths of their satisfaction and imparting to the development of these countries a "race for leadership" character.⁴⁵

It is not only the patriotic community of the liberated countries and the ideologists expressing its sentiments who are aware of the contradictory nature of modernization. It has recently become apparent that its negative aspects are being sharply perceived by the people's masses, evoking protests on their part. Given the underdevelopment and dependence of the liberated countries, which make the "race for leadership" burdensome for them, modernization and its main socioeconomic form--the "expansion of bourgeois relationships in a precapitalist structure"--turned for these

countries, as recent works emphasize, primarily into their negative, destructive trends, which was very sharply reflected in the position and mood of the majority of the population and the most populous strata of the postcolonial societies, eliciting from them an "inevitable defensive reaction."⁴⁶ This "defensive reaction" to the uncompensated destruction of the traditional structures and social relations (urbanization without industrialization on the corresponding scale, the shortage of jobs in the modern sector of the economy for those deprived of them in the traditional economy, the weakening of the traditional systems of social protection in the form of the enlarged family, the peasant community and others given the narrowness of contemporary forms of social security and so forth) developed into a galvanization of traditional, mainly religious, institutions.

The protest against the destructive consequences of modernization and mass discontent with it, which is particularly noticeable in countries whose ruling circles persistently accelerated it from above, prepared the ground for the traditionalization of sociopolitical life. "Religious themes in the official ideologies of a number of countries are increasing, religious principles of morality and upbringing are being established and religion is persistently penetrating politics, becoming the banner and basis for the enlistment of broad strata of the population in energetic political activity."⁴⁷ In examining this outburst of traditionalism Soviet experts emphasize its contradictory character. "As a whole," L.R. Polonskaya and A.Kh. Vafa write, "secularization everywhere in the developing countries appears as a progressive process and an integral part of antifeudal and anti-imperialist transformations. At the same time, given the considerable religiosity of the masses which is preserved, antifeudal and antibourgeois forces still sometimes clothe their political demands in religious forms; reaction, on the other hand, may champion the bourgeois path of development from secular positions. Therefore at the current stage importance is attached to in whose interests it is that the secularization process itself is being used."⁴⁸

In examining critically--in connection with the objective contradictions of the social development of the liberated countries--this phenomenon of modernization or the other Soviet scholars at the same time defend the need for a concrete and comprehensive analysis of the turn to religious and other traditional institutions and values. Pointing to the struggle being waged in the Muslim countries under the religious banner, R.A. Ul'yanovskiy emphasizes: "The point is that the conservative essence of religion is being historically confirmed. Democrats, anti-imperialists and progressive figures are unwilling to put Islam at the complete disposal of reaction in order to thereby prevent it turning its egalitarian and anti-imperialist features against democracy and against social progress.... The spearhead of the progressive critical thought of communists, revolutionary democrats and educators is aimed not against nationalism and Islam in general but against reactionary nationalism and against the fanatical use of religion in justification of the exploitation of the people and their indigence and destitution."⁴⁹

Turning to the history of the national liberation movement, R.A. Ul'yanovskiy shows on the basis of the example of Gandhism that even utopian and archaic ideals like a return to the "golden age" of secluded, self-sufficient peasant communities could perform an objectively positive role, inspiring the masses and "implanting in them the belief that the struggle for independence...is their vital concern inasmuch as this is simultaneously a struggle for the establishment of social justice and for a new society based on principles for whose implementation they have been

waiting."⁵⁰ "A specific feature of backward agrarian society," R.A. Ul'yanovskiy stated, "is precisely the fact that retrograde concepts, which are at first sight based entirely on traditions, are capable of working in the name of the future and serving the interests of progress, if they have not been deprived of elements of revolutionary spirit, that is, anticolonialism, antiracism, anti-imperialism and democracy."⁵¹

The surveyed works pose the question of the preservation of the positive significance of various traditional values and institutions and their possible progressive use at the current stage of the national liberation movement also. "The alternative to the nonprogressive use of traditions," B.S. Yerasov writes, "is not, of course, an unconditional break with the traditional structures and values. Non-capitalist development in the liberated countries signifies a certain continuity of the traditional forms of social organization, certain elements of which may preserve their significance under the new conditions."⁵² "Certain customs and religious beliefs which have long been in existence among the peoples," Ye. A. Prolova observes, "remain expedient forms of practice, behavior, diet and so forth for them in our day also."⁵³

Soviet orientalists and Africanists oppose the abstract counterposing of the old and the new in the life of liberated peoples. They are far from unreservedly identifying modernization with progress and considering any manifestation of traditionalism as reactionary. All this has enabled them to examine dialectically the so-called synthesis concepts which have become prevalent recently in the ideological-political life of Asian and African countries.

"A direction which aspires to a synthesis of traditionalism and modernism is taking shape increasingly distinctly in Afro-Asian nationalism," A.D. Litman writes. "While not in principle rejecting traditions as a symbol of national distinctiveness, the representatives of this direction oppose a one-sided adherence to traditionalism, seeing it as a conservative force. To the analogy of the past inherent in traditionalism they counterpose the thrust toward the future connected with modernism."⁵⁴ "The supporters of the 'synthesis' concept," L.R. Polonskaya and A.Kh. Vafa observe, "endeavor to reinterpret the connection between the traditional and the national and distinguish the opposed trends in the national.... Sometimes the supporters of 'synthesis' come close to the concept of the connection between tradition and the social structure of society and its contradictions, while certain of them endeavor to explain the heterogeneousness of the traditions precisely by social contradictions.... The supporters of 'synthesis' recognize the possibility of influencing traditions...for accelerating social progress and surmounting backwardness. Finally, the representatives of this direction note the heterogeneousness of the influences of different nationalities, directing their efforts toward the search for possibilities of linking national traditions with the social ideals which were formulated outside of their countries and which are evaluated as progressive."⁵⁵

Although the emergence of the "synthesis" concepts was predetermined by the process of the formation of national consciousness, which, as has been said, continues to stick strongly to traditions in the liberated countries and is at the same time no longer immersed in them and although the ideas of synthesis which are being put forward relate primarily to the sphere of the formation of national culture (traditions and innovation, the national and international), as a whole, these concepts have a broader significance and carry more profound social content. As Soviet

scholars observe, their propagation represents certain progress in the development of non-Marxist social thought of the Afro-Asian countries and a positive evolution of contemporary nationalism and reflects "the upsurge of the national liberation movement, the broadening of its social base and the radicalization of the social forces participating in it."⁵⁶

"Platforms constructed on the principles of 'synthesis'," L.R. Polonskaya and A.Kh. Vafa write, "could in a number of cases contain not only a general democratic, antifeudal and anti-imperialist but also an antimonopolist content. For this reason some of them undoubtedly play an important part in the liberated countries' advance along the path of progress.... Even doctrines based on the principles of 'synthesis' and a reinterpretation of the traditions of the past which are, on the whole, moderate in their ideological-political orientation have a relatively progressive thrust, to the extent that they oppose the domination of prebourgeois relationships."⁵⁷

But there is also another side to the promotion of "synthesis" concepts to the forefront of the liberated countries' ideological-political life. It is represented by the direction in whose representatives there predominates "an attempt to create a synthesis of opposite and incompatible ideologies--socialist and bourgeois--and to design a so-called third way embodied in the 'mixed economy,' 'national socialism' and 'Islamic socialism' concepts and so forth."⁵⁸

Thus the idea of the dialectical combination of the traditional and the contemporary, which Soviet orientalist and Africanists evaluate as an inevitable form of the progressive development of the liberated countries brought about by the singularities of the postcolonial societies, particularly the nature of the mass consciousness of the democratic strata of these societies, and the "synthesis of ideology" which, in R.A. Yul'yanovskiy's words, no one has succeeded in creating because "it is given to no one to combine uncombinable and antagonistic class opposites"⁵⁹ are distinguished in the "synthesis" concepts. In distinguishing these two aspects in the general theoretical plane Soviet scholars run up against the fact that in specific ideological formations and the ideological-political life of the liberated countries as a whole they are both combined for the contemporary (nontraditional) is represented for the countries in question both by the ideas of socialism and bourgeois doctrines and also European culture, scientific-technical achievements, urbanism and other features common to all developed countries, both socialist and capitalist.

Under these conditions the protest against "contemporization" could also incorporate both antibourgeois and reactionary-nationalist trends; the spirit of traditionalism could be patriotic and hostile to socialism; concepts of noncapitalist development could be combined with "anti-Europeanism"; and so forth. The national is closely interwoven with the social. Such a bulwark of the national consciousness which is taking shape as traditions begin to be regarded from obviously social positions and, consequently, from the viewpoint of the class consciousness which is taking shape of this stratum of the postcolonial societies or the other. The very problem of the strengthening and development of the national self-awareness of the people of the liberated countries acquires an openly social significance. The ideologists of noncapitalist development appeal to national pride and the sense of national dignity in the struggle against modernization in accordance with the Western, bourgeois model.

Reaction, on the contrary, endeavors to take advantage of the underdevelopment and traumatized character of the national consciousness, appealing to traditions in justification of its class privileges.

The complications in an evaluation of concrete examples of the synthesis of the traditional and the contemporary which this concept or the other proposes prove to be connected largely with the fact that the combination of the national and the social which occurs here imparts an ambivalent value to the synthesis category. The cultivation of national traditions and their gradual reinterpretation and supplementation with new, borrowed elements and the merger of both represent the ideal path of the development of national consciousness and the normal method of its enrichment. Class consciousness develops according to other norms: in the struggle and custer of heterogeneous elements by concepts corresponding most adequately to the interests of a given class. The logic of synthesis is opposed here by the logic of the "eliminated third." As has been said, a partial transfer of the characteristics of the development of national consciousness to the sphere of class consciousness and vice versa occurs in the social thought of the liberated countries. And we see in the "synthesis" concepts in question the stable combination of both approaches and two logics. This mixture occurs both spontaneously and consciously. In the first case it is a reflection of the fact of the objective coexistence of different processes in the mass consciousness characteristic of transitional societies, as the postcolonial societies are, and the actual combination here of the uncombinable or, more precisely, the usually uncombinable. In the other case it is possible to speak of the use of these singularities for this purpose or other.

Soviet literature has examined in detail certain forms of the "combination of the uncombinable" in the social consciousness of the liberated countries. These are primarily the same "national" and a variety thereof--"religious"--socialism. The description of the latter notes particularly distinctly that a consciousness of the masses in which socialism is associated with the religious ideals of a just society is one thing, but that the use of these singularities of mass consciousness for this purpose or the other by the ideologists of "religious socialism" is another. Soviet authors emphasize the fundamental practical-political significance of these purposes and ascertain their differences and, sometimes, diametric opposition.⁶⁰ Whether the corresponding ideologists are adapting to the singularities of the mass consciousness or are themselves engrossed by these feelings, sentiments and ideas is also important, of course. In any event, there is clear significance in the processes occurring in the mass consciousness of the postcolonial societies.

Soviet literature of the period under review poses extensively and from various angles the question of the influence of the mass consciousness on ideology and, consequently, recognizes the importance of a study of all levels of the social consciousness of the liberated countries. Thus characterizing the system of the social consciousness in the countries of tropical Africa, A.N. Moseyko observes: "In societies the overwhelming proportion of whose population is employed in traditional subsistence and semisubsistence farming the primary level of consciousness and the emotional awareness of the world and its evaluation are of far greater significance than in the societies of economically developed countries. The role of traditions and customs, which even today are still most important spiritual regulators here, is particularly great in the developing countries. Making up for the lack (or inadequate propagation and assimilation by the masses) of new ideological regulators, they determine the social behavior primarily of the rural inhabitants, but also influence urban dwellers."⁶¹

The role of the traditional consciousness, the place of traditions in the ideological-political life of the liberated countries, the connection of national consciousness with nationalism and the singularities of the propagation of socialist ideas in the mass consciousness of these countries were the incentives which prompted specialists in ideological problems of the contemporary national liberation movement in the theoretical plane to examine the correlation of the "ideology" and "social consciousness" categories.⁶² While emphasizing the impermissibility of a gap between these categories, the relationship between which is that of the part to the whole, the authors of the surveyed works criticize the tendency to view the ideological struggle and individual ideological currents in the liberated countries without regard for their immediate context, in isolation from the social consciousness as a whole, a tendency which has led, among other things, to an underestimation of the mass or everyday consciousness and the singularities of the mentality of different strata of the postcolonial society. Attention was drawn to the overly simplified approach whereby this concept or the other is deduced directly from the basis of a given society, ignoring the intermediary nature of the connection between ideology and the basis through the "primary levels of consciousness which were born directly of the actual social structure and which reflect its contradictions."⁶³

There was simultaneously emphasis of the importance of the revelation on the basis of the example of the developing countries of feedback: the influence of ideology on the mass consciousness and the impact of the latter and social consciousness as a whole on social being. Many works note the particularly active role in the life of the liberated countries of ideology as a factor of national development and its significance in the consolidation of the national community, the mobilization of the masses for the accomplishment of the tasks of national building and in the struggle for choice of path of social development. Certain authors drew attention to the role of the singularities of the mass consciousness in the social production of the developing countries.

Noting the methodological significance of Lenin's proposition that "man's consciousness not only reflects the objective world but also creates it,"⁶⁴ V.V. Krylov writes: "Fantasy, creativity and comparison of the ideal goals of previous activity with its actual results is productive spiritual work which has as its result the formation of a special type of spiritual production forces and a new system of requirements."⁶⁵ In revealing the content of the Marxian category of "spiritual production forces"⁶⁶ specialists in the economy of the developing countries have made a definite contribution to an understanding of the objective significance of the processes occurring in the sphere of the social consciousness. They noted, in particular, that the system of social requirements, although "an essential spiritual factor of social production," develops "not only within the bounds of material production itself but also within the limits of the entire aggregate social process" and that "an increasing preferential growth of the developing countries' requirements compared with the slowly changing system of work and of the spiritual elements of the production forces compared with the material elements is characteristic" of these countries.⁶⁷ This growth of requirements marks appreciable and, as mentioned earlier, multivalent changes in the mass consciousness, while the said disproportion is becoming an object of concern to the ideologists of these countries, who are endeavoring to mobilize public opinion and galvanize national self-awareness in order to prevent the growth of consumer sentiments, in which this disproportion, in particular, is expressed.

The significance of the mass consciousness is also emphasized by the authors of works on the Afro-Asian countries' sociopolitical problems. The idea of the need to take account of the singularities of the consciousness of the broad popular masses as an objective reality is adduced most frequently and strikingly upon an analysis of the progress of the political struggle in the developing countries. "As the events of the 1960's-1970's constantly convince us," G.F. Kim and L.R. Polonskiya write, "mass support in the oriental countries is enjoyed primarily by the sociopolitical teachings which display sufficient attention to the traditional, including religious, social institutions and ideas. But in instances where adherence to traditions, which constitutes an inalienable part of the social mentality of the peasantry and other nonproletarian laboring strata, and national specifics are not taken into account to a sufficient extent, political teachings and programs, including those which incorporate objectively progressive demands, may not win mass support or, surprisingly, at first sight, may be deprived of it."⁶⁸

The interconnection between ideology and mass consciousness and social consciousness and social being is revealed distinctly and strikingly by R.A. Ul'yanovskiy in the example of Gandhism. While describing it as a "significant and objective phenomenon in Indian history"⁶⁹ the author shows the way of the objectivization of this ideology. Relying on the ideas, ideals and religious beliefs inherent in the mass, traditional consciousness of the Indian people and shaping his own doctrines in accordance with them, in other words, transforming and embodying in ideological forms elements of the mass, basically peasant, consciousness, Gandhi formulated a concept which, in the nature of feedback, influenced the mass consciousness and was embodied in it and, through it, in national reality. Gandhism was born of the life of a peasant country and became "a phenomenon of the national life of a peasant country."⁷⁰ "Neither Gandhi nor Nehru," R.A. Ul'yanovskiy concludes, "are any longer capable of providing an answer to the many problems of present-day India. And at the same time the solution of these problems is impossible without regard for the legacy and influence of both Gandhi and Nehru. They have both become a part of the national consciousness, culture and national life in general."⁷¹

Thus to briefly sum up it may be said that in the period under review there was a marked extension of the front of study of the ideological problems of the liberated countries in Soviet oriental and African studies. Such topics as traditional consciousness, the place of traditions in the ideological-political life of the Asian and African countries and the role of religion were developed in greater detail. With regard for the importance of the cultural inheritance of these countries in the ideological struggle the problem of the correlation of the traditional and the contemporary in their social development was illustrated anew to a considerable extent. There was a dialectical study of such a cardinal issue of the ideological-political life of the liberated countries as the evolution of contemporary nationalism and its relationship with socialism. Particular mention should be made of the extended theoretical approach to the interconnection of ideology and mass consciousness and social consciousness and social being. The works of the period under review were characterized by an emphasis of the importance of the singularities of the mass consciousness of the peoples of the developing countries at the turning point of their history and an endeavor to determine in greater depth the processes occurring here connected primarily with the formation of the national and class consciousness of the basic strata of society. All this ultimately made it possible to reveal on a multiple level and creatively the significance of the conclusion contained in the material of recent CPSU congresses concerning the deepening of the social content of the contemporary national liberation movement.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Material of the 24th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1971, p 18. See also "Material of the 25th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1976, p 12.
2. "Bor'ba idey v sovremennom mire" [The Struggle of Ideas in the Modern World], vol 3, Moscow, 1978, p 19.
3. A special analysis of the ideological situation and the singularities of the processes of the formation of the national and class consciousness in the countries of a socialist orientation is not part of the purpose of this survey.
4. "The Struggle of Ideas in the Modern World," vol 3, p 14.
5. "XXV s'yezd KPSS i problemy ideologicheskoy bor'by v stranakh Azii i Afriki" [The 25th CPSU Congress and Problems of the Ideological Struggle in Asian and African Countries], Moscow, 1979, pp 31-32.
6. Ibid., pp 28-29.
7. "Ekonomika, politika i ideologiya stran Azii i Afriki" [Economics, Politics and Ideology of the Asian and African Countries], Moscow, 1978, p 280.
8. "Sovremennyy natsionalizm i obshchestvennoye razvitiye zarubezhnogo Vostoka" [Contemporary Nationalism and Social Development of the Foreign East], Moscow, 1978.
9. R.A. Ul'yanovskiy, "Sovremennyye problemy Azii i Afriki" [Contemporary Problems of Asia and Africa], Moscow, 1978, p 79.
10. "Ideologicheskaya bor'ba i mirovoy revolyutsionnyy protsess" [The Ideological Struggle and the World Revolutionary Process], Moscow, 1978, p 69.
11. "Zarozhdeniye ideologii natsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniya" [Conception of the Ideology of the National Liberation Movement], Moscow, 1974.
12. "The 25th CPSU Congress and Problems of the Ideological Struggle in Asian and African Countries," p 28.
13. F. Fanon, "Les damnés de la terre," Paris, 1961, p 182. For greater detail see: A.V. Gordon, "Problemy natsional'no-osvoboditel'noy bor'by v tvorchestve Frantsa Fanona" [Problems of the National Liberation Struggle in the Work of Franz Fanon], Moscow, 1977, pp 54-75. See also L.A. Alekseyeva, "Ideyno-teoreticheskiye vzglyady Frantsa Fanona" [The Ideological-Theoretical Views of Franz Fanon], Moscow, 1979.
14. "Issledovaniya sotsiologicheskikh problem razvivayushchikhsya stran" [Investigation of the Sociological Problems of the Developing Countries], Moscow, 1978, pp 213-214.

15. See R.G. Landa (reviewed by) A.V. Gordon, "Problems of the National Liberation Struggle in the Work of Franz Fanon," *NAKODY AZII I AFRIKI* No 6, 1977, pp 215-2156; A.N. Moseyko, "The Main Social Functions of Ideology in the Social System of the Developing Countries," "Investigation of the Sociological Problems of the Developing Countries," p 208.
16. See R.A. Ul'yanovskiy, "Contemporary Problems of Asia and Africa," p 79.
17. "The Struggle of Ideas in the Modern World," vol 3, p 144.
18. "Contemporary Nationalism and Social Development of the Foreign East," pp 300-301.
19. A.I. Levkovskiy, "Melkaya burzhuaziya: oblik i sud'by klassa" [The Petite Bourgeoisie: Makeup and Destiny of a Class], Moscow, 1978, p 120.
20. See "Razvivayushchiyesya strany: zakonmernosti, tendentsii, perspektivy: [The Developing Countries: Characteristics, Trends, Prospects], Moscow, 1974, pp 272-273; "Agrarnyye struktury stran Vostoka" [Agrarian Structures of the Oriental Countries], Moscow, 1977 pp 262-279; "Investigation of the Sociological Problems of the Developing Countries," pp 27-43; and "Strukturnyye svyazi v ekonomike i evolyutsiya politicheskikh sistem v stranakh Azii i Afriki v 70-3 gody" [Structural Changes in the Economy and Evolution of the Political Systems in Asian and African Countries in the 1970's], Moscow, 1979, pp 31-38, 49-52.
21. "The Struggle of Ideas in the Modern World," vol 3, p 33.
22. The reference here is to the idea of the impermissibility of "the declaration as petit bourgeois all ideologies of the developing world other than proletarian and liberal-bourgeois ideologies" (see "The Developing Countries: Characteristics, Trends, Prospects," p 278).
23. "Investigation of the Sociological Problems of the Developing Countries," pp 59-60.
24. Quoted from L.R. Polonskaya and A. Kh. Vafa, "A Typology of Non-Marxist Ideological Currents in the Developing Countries," *AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGONDYA* No 9, 1977, p 31.
25. "The 25th CPSU Congress and Problems of the Ideological Struggle in Asia and African Countries," p 227.
26. *Ibid.*, p 42.
27. See "The Struggle of Ideas in the Modern World," vol 3, p 147; N.S. Illarionov, "Ideologiya i obshchestvennyy progress v stranakh Tropicheskoy Afriki" [Ideology and Social Progress in the Countries of Tropical Africa], Moscow, 1978, pp 31-44; "Contemporary Nationalism and Social Development of the Foreign East," pp 182-194; and others.
28. A. I. Levkovskiy, *op. cit.*, p 151.
29. *Ibid.*, pp 151-153.

30. "The Struggle of Ideas in the Modern World," vol 3, pp 26-27.
31. Ibid., pp 28-29.
32. For example, in the villages of Thailand they say: "We Thais are Buddhists"; the significance of the king (the most important symbol of national statehood) is perceived in the formula "defender of the faith" and so forth (for more detail see A.V. Gordon, "Field Studies of the Thai Countryside as a Source of the Study of the Transformation of Buddhism," NARODY AZII I AFRIKI No 6, 1979).
33. B.G. Gafurov, "Aktual'nyye problemy sovremennogo natsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniya" [Topical Problems of the Contemporary National Liberation Movement], Moscow, 1976, p 155.
34. Zh.D. Smirenskaya, "Krest'yanstvo v stranakh Azii: obshchestvennoye soznaniye i obshchestvennaya bor'ba" [The Peasantry in the Asian Countries: Social Consciousness and Social Struggle], Moscow, 1979, pp 5-8; see also "Agrarian Structure of the Oriental Countries," pp 106-136.
35. "The Ideological Struggle and the World Revolutionary Process," p 73.
36. Ibid.
37. "The Struggle of Ideas in the Modern World," vol 3, p 41.
38. Ibid., p 40.
39. Ibid.
40. R.A. Ul'yanovskiy, "Ocherki natsional'no-osvoboditel'noy bor'by" [Stories of the National Liberation Struggle], Moscow, 1976, p 349.
41. R.A. Ul'yanovskiy, "Politicheskiye portrety bortsov za natsional'nyuyu nezavisimost'" [Political Portraits of National Independence Fighters], p 89.
42. "Investigation of the Sociological Problems of the Developing Countries," p 59.
43. "The Struggle of Ideas in the Modern World," vol 3, pp 197, 200.
44. "Investigation of the Sociological Problems of the Developing Countries," p 205.
45. "The Developing Countries: Characteristics, Trends, Prospects," p 45.
46. "Mesto religiy v ideyno-politicheskoy bor'be razvivayushchikhsya stran" [The Place of Religions in the Ideological-Political Struggle of the Developing Countries], Moscow, 1978, p 47.
47. "Religion in the Asian and African Countries," NARODY AZII I AFRIKI No 1, 1980, pp 41-42.
48. "The Place of Religions in the Ideological-Political Struggle...", pp 21-22.
49. R.A. Ul'yanovskiy, "Contemporary Problems of Asia and Africa," pp 85-86.

50. R.A. Ul'yanovskiy, "Political Portraits...", p 15.
51. R.A. Ul'yanovskiy, "Stories of the National Liberation Struggle," p 470.
52. "The Struggle of Ideas in the Modern World," vol 3, p 241.
53. Ibid.
54. "Contemporary Nationalism and Social Development of the Foreign East," pp 34-35.
55. Ibid., pp 233-234.
56. Ibid., p 35.
57. Ibid., p 233.
58. Ibid., p 235.
59. R.A. Ul'yanovskiy, "Political Portraits...", pp 89-90.
60. In addition to the works cited earlier of R.A. Ul'yanovskiy, L. R. Polonskaya and A. Kh. Vafa see the works of B.G. Gafurov, A.I. Ionova, V.I. Kornev, M.T. Stepanyants and others, the material of the NARODY AZII I AFRIKI roundtable (no 1, 1980) and so forth.
61. "Investigation of the Sociological Problems of the Developing Countries," pp 204-205.
62. A.N. Moseyko and N.S. Illarionov have devoted particular attention to these questions (see A.N. Moseyko, op. cit., pp 201-218; N.S. Illarionov, op. cit., pp 19-35).
63. Investigation of the Sociological Problems of the Developing Countries," p 207.
64. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 29, p 194.
65. "Ekonomika razvivayushchikhsya stran: teorii i metody issledovaniya" [The Economy of the Developing Countries: Theories and Methods of Research], Moscow, 1979, p 166.
66. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Sochineniya" [Works], vol 18, pp 601-602; vol 46, pt I, pp 168, 493.
67. "The Economy of the Developing Countries: Theories and Methods of Research," p 166; and "The Developing Countries: Characteristics, Trends, Prospects," pp 42-43.
68. "Contemporary Nationalism and Social Development of the Foreign East," p 307.
69. R.A. Ul'yanovskiy, "Political Portraits...", p 77.
70. Ibid., p 26.
71. Ibid., p 45.

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INTERNATIONAL

RFE, RL'S USE OF SOVIET EMIGRES, DISSIDENTS ATTACKED

Moscow MOLODAYA GWARDIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 (signed to press 23 Dec 80) pp 310-312

[Review by Sergey Anan'in of book "Golosa s chuzhogo berega" [Voices from an Alien Shore] by Leonid Kolosov, Moscow, "Sovetskaya Rossiya," 1979: "Ideological Saboteurs"]

[Text] We read, hear and even say ourselves that we live in a state of bitter and uncompromising ideological struggle, but it must be admitted that by no means does everyone understand how it manifests itself, so to say, practically. Moreover, it is possible to find a person who seriously believes that the ideological war is being waged somewhere far away and supposedly by people specially authorized for this. In reality, taking into consideration the high level of development of radio and other technologies, wide-scale international exchange, ideological warfare does not admit of state boundaries; today it involves all countries, and everyone comes in contact with it whether he realizes it or not. As shown by experience, and as it is emphasized in documents of the CPSU, there are no neutrals in ideological war, nor can there be.

The ideological adversary does not hide that his main task today is to weaken from within socialist countries and first of all to bring confusion to the minds of politically ungrounded people, especially the youth with no experience in life. For these ends, active use is made of the possibilities presented by radio. Tens of powerful radio stations have been established in different countries; these pour out provocative and slanderous fabrications practically around the clock.

The strictly documentary book of Leonid Kolosov "Golosa s chuzhogo berega" [Voices from an Alien Shore] shows the nature of the activity of radio stations especially created by American intelligence for carrying on ideological sabotage against the USSR and other socialist countries.

The author does not touch upon the early history of their creation, and it is possibly important to remember that in 1948 the U.S. Congress adopted a law "On an Annual Assignment of 100 Million Dollars for the Subversive Activity of Different Anti-Soviet Formations, Groups and Individuals Operating both in the United States, Western Europe, and also in the USSR and Countries of People's Democracy." In accordance with this decree Radio Free Europe was established in Munich in the same year for subversive activity against Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania and in 1953--Radio Station Liberty, initially called--Liberation, for conducting subversive activity directly against the USSR.

Relying on documents and on witnesses directly connected to these centers of ideological sabotage and espionage of American intelligence, L. Kolosov describes with what cynical tendentiousness anti-Soviet and broadly antisocialist slander is concocted. The author names tens of traitors serving American intelligence and provides short biographic sketches of them. There passes before the reader a gallery of betrayers of the Motherland, active Hitlerite accomplices guilty of the destruction of thousands of Soviet patriots, as well as the "new replacement" of so-called dissidents. The enemy openly states that today he is principally counting on the dissidents and in addition openly calls them enemies of the Soviet power.

It is necessary to direct attention to the fact that espionage centers consider particularly reliable and useful those former USSR citizens who emigrated to Israel "for reunion" frequently with fabricated relatives.

"The heads of Radio Station Liberty," L. Kolosov writes, "intensively recruit as their colleagues persons of European origin, inasmuch as they are 'freshest and most informed'; they can be placed before a microphone as 'interested citizens.' But these 'interested' individuals long lost or never had any ties with the Soviet people. Molly Gordin under the pseudonym of Inna Svetlova conducts 'young people's broadcasts.' Semen Mirskiy, his true name is really Mayevskiy, composes daily commentaries. Viktor Kabachnik, looking down the street from the window of a New York skyscraper, scribbles daily comments through the 'eyes of a recent Moscovite.' Rakhil' Fedoseyeva is in charge of affairs connected with 'samizdat.' When fresh news is lacking, Rakhil' hurriedly flies to Israel on a 'vacation' to meet with persons of Jewish nationality arriving from the USSR, to interview them and to quickly cook up her next opus in the guise of 'samizdat'... Incidentally, an increasing number of Radio Liberty broadcasts are concerned with the so-called 'Jewish problem in the USSR.' This subject matter now occupies about one-third of all transmissions to the Soviet Union.

The author presents examples to the effect that at this center of ideological sabotage and espionage there peacefully coexist Hitlerites, who had killed Jews, and Jews, deceived by Zionist propaganda. American Zionists are today the leading detachment of Zionism, while the United States has become a striking example of a country whose domestic and foreign policy is determined to a significant degree and guided by Zionists. Carter himself was obliged to acknowledge that fighting the powerful Zionist lobby was tantamount to suicide for the President.

The reader becomes aware that American intelligence uses traitors not only as radio saboteurs but also as spies and recruiters trying to turn Soviet people who had emigrated to betrayal of the Motherland. The radio stations maintain daily contact with all foreign anti-Soviet publications, including the Zionists' mouthpiece NOVOYE RUSSKOYE SLOVO, published in New York and headed by Yankel Tsvibaker (who prefers to appear under the pseudonym Andrey Sedukh) and the anti-Soviet journal KONTINENT (Paris), created and existing with CIA funds. Incidentally, the dissidents Maksimov, Sinyavskiy, Nekrasov, Gladilin working there write with such malicious slander concerning their former native land that their behavior has drawn the indignation of the "old" emigres. Thus, White Guard publicist Dikiy in the

monarchist journal ZNANIYA MONSII wrote with indignation: "Russian soil could not have given birth to them. They are pimples and warts on the national body."

Leonid Kolosov's book contributes to increasing the vigilance of Soviet people. By vigilance we understand the inculcation of the ability not only to unmask the enemy opportunely but also to steadfastly oppose any alien influence.

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CSO: 1807/93

INTERNATIONAL

SOVIET GERMAN PRESS SCORES WEST GERMAN LIFE

Tselinograd FREUNDSCHAFT in German 19 Feb 81 p 4

/Readers' letters in response to article by Willi Weide, FREUNDSCHAFT Nos 236, 238 and 239, December 1980/

/Text/ Judging by the flood of letters, our readers' interest was aroused by Willi Weide's articles "Denial," published in FREUNDSCHAFT Nos 236, 238 and 239 of December last.

Below we are printing our readers reactions as expressed in their letters.

How Could He Possibly...

I was fascinated by Willi Weide's articles. The author's very first sentence was designed to capture the reader's attention: "It was a very sad story indeed... At the time there were many such--and how could it have been otherwise considering that almost every eighth or ninth (man) died a hero's death on the battlefield, was hanged or shot. It also happened that some were simply missing..."

Here Willi Weide recalls an image of the past which touches upon the fate of almost every Soviet family. Everything I read moved me profoundly, because it is the absolute truth. My indignation compels me to write this letter. It is almost impossible to believe that there are people among us such as that Roman Petrovich.

How could he do that? How could he concoct such a lie? If he had been a young and uneducated fellow, we might ascribe it to inexperience or youth. But a middle-aged man and a physician to boot... Had he really forgotten Shakespeare's admonition that if we spit on heaven, the spittle will fall back on our own head? I can hardly believe that. How could he be a physician if harboring such hypocrisy?

I condemn such people.

Signed: Maria Steinle

That Is Treason

When reading Willi Weide's sketch, our first feeling is amazement that there are still such people as Roman Petrovich, who believe the lying propaganda of the West,

including the Springer newspapers and the "German Wave," instead of considering that for us Soviet Germans the USSR alone was and is our only and true homeland.

Our fathers and grandfathers shared the fate of the Russian people for centuries past. Now, shoulder to shoulder with the multinational Soviet people, we are building the glorious future. And we do not wish to have anything whatever in common with people who, due to egotism and lack of responsibility (even for their loved ones), invent "biographies" which are really pure fiction, just to achieve their goal. Moreover, they use fraud and falsehood.

I see all of Wanner's inventions as treason to human reason and honor--not to use even stronger words.

Signed: Heinrich Enns

We Tarried in the 'Promised Land'

Having read the article series "Denial" in FREUNDSCHAFT, I feel the urge to report about my trip to the FRG in order to tell such people as Roman Petrovich my opinion of that world to which they are so eager to flee. Even the means used by Roman Wanner to achieve his goal are immoral and unseemly for any man, let alone a physician. Still, let us leave that to his conscience.

Last year my wife and I stayed in the FRG with my brother. He and his family live in Bad Neuenahr (Rhineland/Palatinate). The weather is often quite inclement: Rain, mist, strong winds; few sunny days. At first glance Bad Neuenahr is a quiet little place, huddled in the mountains.

One might think that nothing and nobody would be able to disrupt the normal rhythm and lifestyle of the residents. Unfortunately that is only the first impression. Soon one gets firsthand knowledge of the military psychosis of American NATO troops and the Bundeswehr. Often they yell and carouse through the streets of the town; aircraft and helicopters unceasingly thunder overhead; the alarm is sounded almost every day. In the course of last fall's maneuvers the cultivated fields were crossed and recrossed--and devastated--by tanks. The farmers protested. Sometimes they used their tractors to try and block the armored vehicles from entering their fields. Little did it avail them. In the best case the damage is compensated by a specific D mark amount. Whether that is enough to pay for the loss since land is very expensive?

In the fall of 1980 the periodical STERN wrote about the FRG's somber future, the fact that the population continues to decline, and fewer and fewer children are born. Moreover, within 9 months car crashes claimed the lives of some 60,000 children. Young women refuse to bear children. Many settlements do not even have schools due to the lack of children.

There are differences among the young people, or so I have observed. Some, especially students and the unemployed, call for the transformation of the state and society, lower taxes, workers control of factories and plants, contacts with world youth, especially youth in the socialist countries and the USSR. They champion peace and justice.

Another section of young people attend church, are fanatical in their faith, read neither newspapers nor periodicals. Many girls become nuns and live in convents.

A third group is inspired by American films. They use narcotics, act like hooligans and spread revanchist ideas. They are the product of the capitalist world. They are boisterous and spoilt. They insult and make fun of passers-by, sing at the top of their voices. And the police lets all that pass. Many among them are typical terrorists and members of various revanchist organizations. Instead of combating them effectively, there is just a lot of talk about terrorists. Last fall 12 innocent people were killed in Munich, another 200 injured. Yet only one terrorist was traced, the one who had put the bomb in the wastepaper basket and was killed himself.

At the time the German press also wrote that bank robbers are reduced to only about DM1.5 million, and that another wave of bank robberies was bound to begin in the FRG.

Life is hard for the working man who is compelled to pay about a third of his monthly salary in taxes and contribution. There is income tax, unemployment tax, sickness benefit tax, church tax, tax even on dogs chained in the yard. Particularly expensive are rents; up to DM600 for a three-room apartment. Fares on the railroad are very high. Some DM50 are payable for a journey of up to 200 km. The stores are amply stocked but expensive. A night in a hotel costs about DM100. Television, radio and newspapers daily publish provocative propaganda regarding the People's Republic of Poland, Afghanistan, Vietnam and other countries. The FRG public is irritated and does not know how Soviet people live and work, how they struggle for peace and detente. There is also tangible enmity toward the GDR.

It is impossible not to be reminded of the proverb: "Not all that glitters is gold."

Rosa Stiel, arrived in the FRG 2 years ago, feels stranded and alone; she wants to return home to the Soviet Union. She is working on a farm near Bielefeld and unable to satisfy her employer. There are many others like her.

These are only a few impressions of that which I saw and experienced in the FRG. Thinking of people such as Roman Petrovich I would like to ask: "Who and what awaits you there? Do you not have a homeland which cares for and looks after you?"

Signed: Heinrich Wiens, pensioner

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CSO: 1826/17

NATIONAL

KAZAKH VIEWS SOVIET DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY FROM PERSPECTIVE OF CPSU CONGRESS

Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh 21 Mar 81 p 4

[Article by Baltaybay Adambaev: "Mother with Children, a Happy Mother"]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress that has just now completed its work may be said to have been an epoch making event, one that cast light on the life of the nation and people and the state of the homeland and one that has gone over the past, evaluated the present and revealed the future. "We yearn for and cherish Lenin as a bright ray of light and special focus of propaganda that influenced through the appearance of the Soviet nation and the example that it constituted for the proletariat of the entire world" (N.K. Krupskaya). It is well known that the congress worked to achieve the great hopes of Lenin today. We realized very clearly at this great forum that, based upon the social and economic achievements of the Soviet nation, every step it takes internationally encounters in abundance the solidarity of the good intentioned of the entire world. For this reason all the deputies that spoke at the congress and worker and laborer representatives from every corner of the globe unanimously supported and greeted with enthusiasm the foreign and domestic policy of the CPSU, the Leninist Central Committee of the CPSU and the politburo of the central committee headed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev.

The scope of the questions discussed at the congress was as broad as life itself and planet wide. Questions connected with mothers and children in general had to be among them. The reason is that the happiness and health of mothers and children are associated with the most dear and cherished hopes of humanity. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, in reporting on "the development of social and class structure and national ties" at the congress, pointed out that: "the central committee, in accordance with directives of the 25th Party Congress, has devoted special attention to the creation and carrying out of an advantageous demographic policy and to the complicated problem of a future population balance. The primary way of resolving these problems is through increase of care for families, newlyweds and, first and foremost, women". These words of our party chief, spoken before the congress, have great political and economic significance.

Major progress has been made towards the construction of communism in our country on account of the wise leadership of the party and the selfless persistence of the young Soviet people. Territorial production complexes and combines have been created in the European portion of the RSFSR, on the Aral sea, in Siberia, in the far east, in Kazakhstan and in Tajikistan. The Pavlodar-Ekibastuz Combine produced

67 million tons of coal during the last year of the 10th Five-Year-Plan, a three-fold increase over 1970. The communist railroad, the Baykal-Amur Main Line, moves farther east each day as it continues to grow, piercing taiga mountains that have slept for centuries, leaping over rivers, ignoring swamps and cleaving forests. This means the establishment of tens of production towns, hundreds of enterprise settlements and railway and highway stations in Siberia. But the question is who will become the drillers, railroad workers and constructors of the future and work with ice for pillows and snow for beds in the ferocious storms of Siberia and the east, who will settle the new lands and who will take charge of the riches of Siberia?

It is understandable that this vital question has occupied the attentions of and worried the Soviet people and its recognized vanguard, the communist party. The conclusion has been drawn that the interests of children are the interests of mothers and that care for children is care for the future of the nation.

Today the statement is often heard among eastern women that "a child is a ray of light," that "it is a crime to murder a baby". These words come from humanistic mothers who know the value of children and rate their interests highly. These words must become slogans and catchwords of every thinking Soviet citizen, of young people in particular.

It is significant that homeless children were taken into the care of the state from the first years of the victory of the socialist revolution in our country in accordance with the instructions of V.I. Lenin. Since that time the interests of mothers and children have continued to enjoy the attention of the communist party and Soviet regime. The provision of free education and now free textbooks to children and also aids and felicitations paid to mothers with children as maternity centers and kindergarten increase in numbers from year to year in our country are expressions of this care.

Comrade N.A. Tikhonov, head of the Soviet government, reporting on new measures being prepared by the central committee and the government to improve the living standards of mothers and children and the younger generation further during the 11th Five-Year-Plan, stated that it was planned to expend more than 9 billion rubles on various measures to be carried out regionally in our country to increase state aid to families with children during the coming five-year-plan.

Through these outlays special compensation and leave will be granted to young mothers, first until their children are one year old and later until one and a half years, starting during the first year of the five-year-plan. Likewise, 50 rubles will be paid to young mothers for the birth of the first child and 100 rubles for the birth of the second and third. Moreover, annual leave for working women with two or more children aged 12 or below will be increased. Monthly aid to children of single mothers will also be increased.

The economy and culture of our republic, like those of the entire nation, expanded during the 10th Five-Year-Plan. National income grew by 23.6 percent.

Grain sold each year to the state increased substantially over what it had been before. Twenty-five percent more was spent during the 10th Five-Year-Plan compared to the 9th on the development of the national economy as a whole and more than three million persons were moved to new housing or had their housing improved. Thousands of palaces of culture, schools, libraries and pharmacies were put into use.

Kazakhstan remained the grain, livestock and economic minerals base of the Soviet Union during the 10th Five-Year-Plan. Production of coal, iron, cast iron, phosphorous, petroleum and gas increased and new cities, villages and factories were constructed. When we see or hear of these very great achievements that are being brought into being or planned for the benefit of the Soviet people we rejoice and are filled with joy. You may ask, in the face of such achievements and victories of our motherland and republic, whether or not economic and cultural growth is associated with population growth, whether or not the younger generation will be interested in such riches or culture and whether or not it will enlarge them. This calls to mind the heartfelt plea of Comrade Dinmukhamed Akhmetuli Qonaev, made with courtesy and restraint, which he is noted for, at the 15th Congress of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, to the effect that: "The present population of the republic is more than 15,000,000. The population increased by 835,000 persons during the five-year-plan. This is encouraging growth but remains below what is projected by our demographic policy".

Population growth is connected with territory, riches of a territory, social structure and mode of life. If this is the case, our people has every reason to increase and develop rapidly.

"A child is a man's heart". Thus our people have long thought about children in happy terms. There has been the custom of esteeming and cherishing mothers with many children as evidenced by the statement that "a mother with five children is nothing special, a mother with six nothing remarkable". This fine custom has found support during the time of the Soviet regime from the party and the government. Today homes without 3-5 children are rare among us and the number of families with 5-10 children increases from year to year. I know, for example, of tens of "heroic mothers" and hundreds of "distinguished mothers" in the regions of Sarisuv, Talas and Moyinqum. The heroic mother Aytbike Aqisheva, who lives at the Moyinqum regional center, has 10 children and five have received a higher education. Kulash Eluvbaeva, a local elder shepherd who holds the orders of the Red Banner of Labor and the Mark of Distinction for raising 125-145 lambs per hundred sheep year after year in the Shuv and Qarakol sovkhos subordinate to that region, has eleven children. There are no sovkhos or kolkhos in the three regions mentioned where "heroic mothers" and "distinguished mothers" are not found.

Last year I happened to be among the Shieli rice cultivators with an escort from the Bilim Society at the time that preparations were being made for sowing. First I encountered the famous rice cultivator Ibiray Zhaqayeva, twice hero of socialist labor and state prize laureate, and then Ulbala Altaybaeva, hero of socialist labor and heroic mother. Ulbala has 13 children and 17 grandchildren. Eight of her children are specialists with university educations who have married, established households and are working in every sector of the economy and culture.

"My parents died early and I was raised by my uncle Iliyas and his wife Kaken," said Ulbala. "When the Great Patriotic War broke out, my three uncles, Iliyas, Kumbay and Kogenbay, were all called to the front. Iliyas left behind a wife and two children and Kumbay a wife and one child. My youngest uncle had not yet married at that time. The children were young, the wives ailing and I became both teenager and adult for both houses. As soon as I reached the age of 15 I interrupted my studies and went to work. I had 20 hectares of paddy from my uncle. I planted this plot until 1947 and harvested 45-50 centners per hectare from the 20 hectares each year. I called the plot 'Komsomol Team'. Those were record

yields for that time since everything, leveling the ground for the paddies, irrigation bedding and irrigation, was done by hand.

I became a Komsomol member in 1938 and a party member in 1947. That year I married Sultankhan. Thus I got married late, when I was all grown up," said Ulbala, smiling.

"Since then it has been one baby after the other," said Sultankhan, jokingly.

Ulbala became a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1974. Since that time she has been elected a member of the plenum of the Qizilorda Oblast Committee of the Kazakhstani Communist Party, bureau member of the Shieli Regional Committee and member of the plenum taking part in the 16th Congress of the All Union Central Trade-Union Council. Her career shows that children mean happiness and labor success. For holder of the golden star Ulbala, "one of the esteemed women enjoying honor from the people of the entire nation today, favorite of the Great Patriotic War and leading rice cultivation specialist," with her 30 offspring, and her agronomist husband Sultankhan Ospanov the state constructed an eight room brick house in the "Worker" sovkhos center, where they live, and a four room house in Alma-Ata. The presidium of the Moscow All Union Exhibition of People's Achievements awarded a moskvich-408 auto. In addition, as another sign of distinction, a bronze bust has been made of our famous countryman, "the doubly successful hero" (L.I. Brezhnev) for Ulbala and delivered for installation in a sovkhos center building. For some reason, however, it has yet to be installed.

"Will your children love labor like yourselves?" I asked.

"It cannot be bad for young people to grow up in large families," said the heroic mother after a moment's thought. "This is because they aid one another, share everything, respect elders and look out for the younger ones there. Our children are respectful and courteous and my daughters and sons in-law are fine. Is there not a proverb to the effect that 'a child ties one hand of a good woman but both hands of a bad.' Who can call me a bad woman. I have always done my share. 'Worker' sovkhos is a livestock raising sovkhos. From 1975 to 1978 there was a zhonglishqa grass and grain brigade and I procured livestock fodder. Since 1979 I have cultivated fruit trees and bushes on eight hectares of cattle pastures of 100 versts extent from this grass and grain land and am raising a garden for the shepherds".

After this conversation I went to the heroic mother's guest room. In the middle of the broad, well-lit room with three windows was a 5.5 by 2.5 meter large, red, hand-woven carpet. On the carpet two swans butted heads with hearts for muzzles. Opposite the center of the room there was a large wooden door in a wall. This was the door to the room for housing married daughters and their husbands and married sons and their wives when they come to visit.

Beside the carpet a bronze overfork was hung. Running vertically on the overfork was a space ship and above the space ship, in Russian: "to Altaybaeva Ulbala; souvenir of a meeting with soldier voters, 5 May 1974." was written.

"I am not the only one in our sovkhos with 10 children", said Ulbala. "Zhunash Dolanbekova has 11 children and Bahira Eshenqulova has 12. And esteemed mothers

with six to eight children are many, all well to do and living well. A mother doesn't bear children for fame, she bears them so that her line will not die out and her progeny will increase. A sensible woman does not decline children given by nature as invaluable gifts. Mothers and children need plenty and peace. This is guaranteed by the party and the government. Thus I offer a thousand and one thanks to the party, the government and comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, who have continued to devote attention to women with children and have cared for them."

11,433

CSO: 1810/072

REGIONAL

TAJIK REVIEW REPUBLIC PROPAGANDA PROGRAM

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 1 Apr 81 p 1

[Article: "In the Central Committee of the Tajikistan Communist Party"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Tajikistan Communist Party has reviewed the question of the status of the propaganda and study of the 26th CPSU Congress materials in the Tursunzadevskaya city party organization.

In the decree which was adopted, it is pointed out that the communists and all the workers of Tursunzadevskiy Rayon, just as all the Soviet people, are taking in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the propositions and conclusions, which were contained in the Central Committee report which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev presented, with deep satisfaction. The workers, kolkhoz workers, specialists, and youth are expressing a readiness to implement the party's plans successfully.

The party's city committee and the primary party organizations have developed an overall plan for organizational and propaganda measures. Instructional methods seminars and meetings are being conducted with the secretaries and deputy secretaries of primary party organizations; with the leaders of ideological establishments; with non-T/O lecturers and speakers; with propagandists in the party studies, Komsomol political enlightenment and economic education network; and with the managers of permanently operating agitation points. The meetings in the primary party organizations, during which the results of the 26th CPSU Congress and the tasks facing work collectives are being discussed, are taking place in business-like surroundings and with the high activity of the communists.

Party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol workers, leaders and specialists in the national economy, school and institute teachers and about 2,000 political informants and agitators have been enlisted in the propaganda work. Agitation brigades have been sent to remote population centers and the distant pastures for the livestock breeders. The congress materials are being studied within the party training and economic education system. More than 30,000 individuals are studying here. Theoretical conferences, seminars, interviews and discussions of papers on problems in the construction of communism are being conducted in work collectives.

The activity of cultural enlightenment establishments is also being directed toward a broad explanation of the decisions of the 26th congress. Public political

readings, "round-table" and "Near a map of the world" discussions, lecture series, and question and answer evenings are being organized in clubs, houses of culture and libraries. The lecture bureau, "Foreign Policy of the CPSU" -- which 200 listeners have attended -- has been opened in the city's House of Culture. Meetings have been held in all the shops of the Tajikskiy Aluminum Plant with T. Bobozhonov, brigade leader of the foundry workers and a delegate to the 26th party congress.

The workers of the city and rayon are endeavoring to respond to the congress decisions with shock work and to implement them successfully. Socialist competition has been expanded in enterprises and on farms. The collectives of 65 shops, brigades and farms and 2039 front-rank workers have reviewed their obligations and adopted new and higher ones. A total of 300 workers have pledged to complete the plan for the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan by the 64th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Industrial and agricultural workers completed the pre-congress shock watch successfully. Five enterprises out of six, 38 brigades, ten sections and one farm had carried out the two-month plan by the opening of the party forum.

The intensification of indoctrinational work is having a positive effect on economic affairs. The rayon's industry fulfilled the two-month plan for gross output by 102.1 percent, for sales -- by 100.6 percent, for labor productivity -- by 101 percent; and the transport enterprises fulfilled the plan for transporting goods by 113 percent. Trade, personal services and communications enterprises also coped with their assignment. By the opening of the congress, the rayon's live-stock breeders had reported the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of the quarterly plan for the sale of meat to the state. More milk, eggs and wool were handed over to the state during the two months than during the same period last year. The kolkhoz workers successfully prepared the equipment for the spring field work and pledged to complete the sowing of cotton in six-seven days.

However, individual primary party organizations are displaying sluggishness and at times even formalism in the propagandizing and study of the 26th congress materials, and they are endeavoring to conduct as many measures as possible without preparing for them beforehand. Frequently, agitators and political informants expound superficially on the congress materials, and avoid answering the questions which the workers and kolkhoz workers are interested in. The deputy groups at enterprises and on kolkhozes and sovkhoses have still not expanded in the right way the work in worker communities and the places where the population live.

In positively evaluating the work of the city party organization, the Central Committee of the Tajikistan Communist Party has recommended to the party gorkom, primary party organizations and Komsomol organizations that they expand more widely the organizational and mass political work on the study, propaganda and explanation of the 26th congress decisions and of the tasks put forward in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report, that they relay them to each communist and each worker, that they demonstrate clearly and convincingly the successes of the Soviet people in the construction of communism, and that they mobilize the efforts of work collectives to fulfill ahead of schedule the 1981 plans and obligations and the five-year plan in general.

The decrees which was adopted emphasize that it is necessary to take steps to further improve the ideological and political indoctrination of the workers in light of the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress, to form in them a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and a communist attitude toward work and public property, to expand creative activity in order to solve successfully the task of ensuring a steady growth in production and the raising of its effectiveness, and to see to it that each one has a good knowledge of the prospects for the development of his enterprise or farm and of its role in the republic's economy and is deeply aware of his personal responsibility for the fulfillment of state plans. It is necessary to improve the indoctrination of the friendship of USSR peoples, Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism in the workers and thoroughly reveal the triumph of the Leninist nationality policy.

When propagandizing and explaining the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress, it is necessary to make maximum use of the capabilities of the large detachment of the ideological activists, leading workers and national economy specialists, exercise systematic control over the ideological content and effectiveness of mass political measures and devote more attention to differentiated and individual work with the people.

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CSL: 1800/384

REGIONAL

TURKMEN UNIVERSITY GRADUATES' PROBLEMS WITH RUSSIAN LANGUAGE HIGHLIGHTED

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 22 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by E. Tulapina, head of the department of Russian language of the Turkmen State University, docent: "Before Selecting a Profession"]

[Text] The dates of the entrance examinations to VUZ's are still fairly far away but the editorial staff is already receiving letters with concerned questions: will there be changes in the rules for admission, will work be done with the future graduates of lower schools, what programs are best for preparing for competitive examinations? There are many letters like this whose authors are interested in the kinds of examinations that must be taken in order to enter one department or another. The editorial staff told me about them and asked me to answer them.

Today I wish to talk about one subject that is included in the list of competitive examinations--the Russian language. This is not by accident, for examinations in the Russian language are given to all graduates entering all VUZ's in all specialties (except the department of Turkmen philology). The Russian language is equally obligatory for those who have completed both the Russian and the national schools. This situation is brought about by the fact that study in all VUZ's of the country, including in Turkmenistan, is conducted in the Russian language which the numerous peoples and nationalities of the USSR who speak 132 languages voluntarily chose as the language of international communication.

There are representatives of more than 40 nationalities studying in the Turkmen State University and were it not for the Russian language the process of teaching this multilingual contingent would have been considerably more difficult.

Standard training and methodological documentation (plans, programs), textbooks, teaching aids and scientific literature are written in the Russian language. By means of the Russian language students of non-Russian nationalities have an opportunity to become familiar with modern achievements not only of domestic, but of world science and technology (incidentally, 50 percent of the technical literature in the world is printed in the Russian language) and with the best examples of world artistic literature.

Study of the Russian language has become a profoundly recognized vital necessity for thousands of boys and girls who have graduated from national schools. One piece of evidence of this is the annually growing number of those who wish to enter

the department of Russian philology and devote themselves to the occupation of a pedagogue or teacher of the Russian language and literature. Last year, for example, 767 graduates applied to the department of philology of the Turkmen State University, mainly graduates of national schools, which made the competition more difficult with two people applying for every one position. And a total of 3,371 graduates of lower schools took the written and oral examinations for Russian language and literature at the Turkmen State University.

How was the 1980 graduating class prepared for these subjects?

An analysis of the results of last year's admission examinations showed that the students' knowledge had improved somewhat over preceding years. On the whole the graduates demonstrated a satisfactory preparation in terms of the volume stipulated by the program for those entering VUZ's and the corresponding school course in Russian language and literature. But the examinations revealed a number of essential gaps in the preparation of the school graduates. Of the overall number who took the exam in this subject in the Turkmen State University, 526 graduates did not manage to carry out the proposed assignments. Unfortunately one must say that the literacy of the graduates of the national schools, especially rural ones, is still low. Of the 1,668 graduates of lower national schools, 259 received an unsatisfactory grade.

The majority of the mistakes that were made, naturally, were related to the specific nature of the students' native language. The orthographical preparation also leaves something to be desired. Many graduates of lower schools do not have a good grasp of writing words with capital letters (Soviet Power, Country of the Soviets, Homeland, and so forth). Therefore the advice to teachers of graduating classes is to devote more attention to repeating the correct spelling of words that begin with a capital letter and also those with double consonants, unstressed vowels in the root of the word, the prefixes "pri" and "bez," verb endings, and the particles "ne" and "ni."

There were also quite a few complaints about the essays of the graduates. Those who have completed a school with study in the Russian language are usually given subjects of essays which make it possible to display their knowledge of artistic texts and their ability to analyze them independently, to think logically, to compose and to generalize phenomena and facts.

On the whole one should note that today's graduate is more erudite, well-read and literate. But still a considerable number of the essays do not meet the necessary requirements. Here is the proof: of the 583 essays which we teachers had to read and evaluate, only 7 earned an excellent grade, and of the 164 essays written by students entering the department of Russian philology, only one was given an "A." Most of the essays were given a "C."

The main shortcomings in the essays were: schematicism, unimaginative exposition, a lack of argumentation for conclusions, the substitution of general phrases for analysis, paraphrasing of the plot or materials of the school text book, the inability to explain the main content of the selected theme and, finally, numerous stylistic errors.

And another alarming observation. Recently the graduates of lower schools have become less emotional. In the entrance examinations in 1980 one did not encounter (as distinct from past years) essays in verse or consisting of rhetorical exclamations and lyrical digressions. Certain lower school graduates managed to be dispassionate even when writing on such a moving subject as "Why I Love Pushkin." Their caution and practicality, frankly speaking, is suspicious. Yet the writers of these essays have no orthographical or punctuation mistakes. But behind the selection of short phrases and cliches, it is not difficult to see poverty of thought, indifference and an absence of real feeling. Can this be a valid position --to live without feelings? This is worse than grammatical errors. Obviously teachers of Russian language and literature should think about these facts.

Those entering the humanities departments (Russian philology, jurisprudence, history, foreign languages) take an entrance examination in Russian language and literature that is not only written, but also oral. I should like to advise future lower school graduates to devote the most serious attention to the mastery of such concepts as idea, composition, genre, school and versification. These are necessary for analyzing an artistic work. I draw attention to this because the past entrance examinations have revealed that certain lower school graduates have a fairly superficial knowledge of classical and modern works of poetry and prose. Moreover, quite unfortunately, a considerable proportion of those entering universities have become familiar with literary works only through movies or television. This is bad.

An analysis of the oral answers in the Russian language showed that the most significant gap in the knowledge of the graduates is the lack of skills of grammatical analysis (composition of words, parts of speech, components of a sentence, a complex sentence). Consequently, schoolteachers of Russian language and literature should be more concerned about the effectiveness of the lesson as the main stage in the process of learning and use optional assignments more expediently.

The VUZ is always concerned about the new selection of students, and not just before the entrance examinations. In April and May all of the higher educational institutions of the republic will have open houses and meeting-consultations with graduates of city and rural schools. The deans' offices of Turkmen State University have already prepared for the incoming students. Since November of last year the university has had preparatory courses in which, for a small amount of money, VUZ teachers work with future lower school graduates. In July monthly additional courses will open up for lower school graduates.

The training program on republic television entitled "We are studying the Russian language," will help prepare for the examinations. A special series of this will be devoted to the 1981 graduates. The book by D. E. Rozental' entitled "The Russian Language for Those Entering VUZ's" which has gone through several editions is an immense help in preparing for the competition.

And, finally, the main thing: the future philologist should be devoted to his specialty, passionately enamoured of the subject he has selected, and this will be shown by the level of his preparation. Tomorrow's lower school graduates, all these wishes, demands and pieces of advice were elicited by your letters with which the editorial staff familiarized me and to which they asked me to respond.

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REGIONAL

ESTONIAN WORK WITH LETTERS DESCRIBED

Tallinn **KOMMUNIST ESTONII** in Russian No 12, Dec 80 (signed to press Dec 80)
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[Article by V. Renzer, head of General Department, CPSU Central Committee: "Following Leninist Principles of Work with Letters of Workers"]

[Text] The successful fulfillment of the decisions of the Communist Party and plans of economic and social development of our country presupposes the continued growth of the consciousness, discipline, organization and political activeness of the Soviet people, all workers and their increasingly broader participation in guiding the affairs of society.

An important form of connection between the party and the masses, a form of workers' participation in the affairs of the state and management of production is to be found in letters and oral statements addressed by workers to party and soviet organs, institutions and public organizations. The letters of workers contribute to the further improvement of guidance of social life, higher efficiency of production and standards of labor of the Soviet apparatus.

V.I. Lenin called letters of workers genuine human documents. He profoundly based Bolshevik principles of work on statements of workers, the essence of which was that behind each letter there was to be seen a living person, that letters were to be dealt with sensitivity and attention, decisions in regard to them were to be made promptly, fulfillment was to be verified and that it was to be realized that there could stand social problem behind each concrete request. V.I. Lenin demanded the strict punishment of officials who were guilty of procrastination in the examination of statements and complaints and of a bureaucratic attitude toward them.

Our party carefully studies and develops Leninist principles of work with letters. They have undergone continual development in the materials of the 23rd, 24th and 25th CPSU congress, decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and in the speeches of party and governmental leaders. In 1976, the CPSU Central Committee adopted the decree "On Further Improving Work with Letters of Workers in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress." A favorable influence on the strengthening and development of the Leninist style of work with letters is exerted by the constant attention of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L.I. Brezhnev in regard to this important question.

Speaking 2 March 1979 at a meeting with voters of the Baumanskiy Electoral District of Moscow, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev underscored the necessity of an attentive attitude toward the needs and opinions of people and broader direct and interested mixing with the masses. It is important, he said, for "each Soviet individual to be able to sense his participation in state affairs and to be confident that his opinion, his voice would be heard and taken into account in the development of big and small decisions."

When addressing themselves to party and various other organs, citizens mainly raise questions of dealing with mismanagement, violations of production and labor discipline, adherence to rules in distribution of housing, improvement of the operation of municipal transport, improvement of consumer, medical and cultural services for the population. In the great majority of letters, the authors correctly raise questions and make concrete proposals aimed at the elimination of these or those deficiencies.

The work with letters and statements of workers as a matter of great political importance occupies an important place in the work of party, soviet and operational organs and all public organizations. The problem is that in addition to a sensitive and attentive examination of each letter and each statement there be systematically analyzed incoming letters, the problems presented in them be generalized and measures be taken to eliminate the causes of the presented complaints.

A convincing and effective example of how written and oral appeals of workers should be analyzed and how the results of this analysis be used in the solution of current and perspective problems is shown to us by the CPSU Central Committee.

Many of the proposals made by authors of letters were utilized in the preparation of the materials of the 25th CPSU Congress and were reflected in its documents. The most important advice and ideas were examined at the CPSU Central Committee taken into consideration in working out decrees and exercise of control over their fulfillment and in the practical work of administrative organs. Letters of workers were taken into consideration in the preparation of such important documents as the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Further Improving Training and Education of Pupils of General Educational Schools and Training of Them for Labor," "On Measures for Further Improving Cultural Services for the Rural Population," "On Further Strengthening Labor Discipline and Reducing Cadre Turnover in the National Economy" and others.

Recently, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia examined in regard to letters of workers questions on improving the operation of state labor savings banks of the republic, housing operation and repair and on providing the population with fuel and thermal energy during the fall and winter period and much else.

In January 1979, there were discussed at a plenum of the CPE Central Committee problems of the republic party organization on further improving work with letters, proposals and critical comments of workers in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU congress and in connection with preparations for elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Then plenums with similar agendas took place at all party gorkoms and raykoms. As a rule, these measures are preceded by a thorough study of the state of affairs locally. Gorkoms and raykoms jointly with auditing commissions verified work with letters at more than a thousand primary party organizations. The check

contributed to the detection and elimination of many defects. During the course of it many party organizations arranged for the necessary accounting of the letters and oral appeals and established days and hours for receiving citizens on personal matters. Party meetings took place at most of the primary party organizations, the participants of which discussed the work arrangement for letters and receiving of citizens.

The character of the letters received at the CPE Central Commission have determined such historical events as the 110th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth, the 35th anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War and the 40th anniversary of the restoration of the Soviet power in Estonia, as well as preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress. The increase in the number of letters coming to party organs is gratifying. It speaks of the growing awareness of Soviet people, their active position in life, political maturity and their proprietary concern for the further flowering of the socialist Motherland, undivided trust in the policy of the Communist Party and support of its Leninist course.

Significant changes have taken place in the content and character of letters of workers. There has been an increase in the number of letters raising questions of general party and state importance; concrete, businesslike proposals, advice and wishes aimed at raising the efficiency of public production, improving the quality of work and the quickest possible elimination of existing defects are contained in them. Letters frequently touch upon questions relating to the work of party, soviet and operational organs and public organizations. It would be a mistake not to give due attention to this flow of information. The entire party apparatus must carry on work with letters.

Most of the letters reaching the CPE Central Committee are examined by Central-Committee secretaries. At the same time, personnel of the Central Committee in many cases go on trips to the provinces. A part of the letters and statements is sent for study and adoption of measures by party gorkoms and raykoms, soviets of people's deputies, public and other organizations.

Regular attention to letters of workers on the part of Central-Committee secretaries and implementation of their instructions concerning concrete appeals of citizens significantly boost the quality of examination of statements and complaints. Control has been improved over their practical execution.

At departments of the Central Committee, examination of letters, analysis and generalization of proposals, wishes and critical comments contained in them are done in inseparable connection with the solution of current and long-range tasks of party, soviet and economic construction. The party's Central Committee has set the task of taking into consideration letters of workers in the study of and hearing on any question at a party committee or bureau. If the bureau of a party gorkom or rayon hears a report of a primary party organization on work that has been done, there must not be lost sight of what letters have come from this organization, how work there is organized in regard to letters of workers and how the reception of citizens is organized. It is essential that letters of workers be used in addresses by heads and secretaries of party committees and organizations at labor collectives.

Developing Leninist principles in work with letters of workers, the party makes new and stricter demands. One of the most important ones is the requirement of carefully

ascertaining the reasons giving rise to the complaints and statements and introducing preventive measures aimed at the elimination of these reasons.

In the search for ways of achieving this aim, new forms of work with letters of workers and organization of individual receiving of citizens have been found. In November 1979, the bureau of the CPS Central Committee approved the initiative of the editors of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA and the Narva Party Gorkom on holding open-letter days, valuing them as an effective form of study of public opinion and bringing workers to the management of production and social affairs and fuller satisfaction of just demands of the population. The bureau of the Central Committee recommended to editorial offices of republic, city and rayon newspapers and party gorkoms and raykoms to hold open-letter days in all cities and rayons. At the present time, such days have become traditional in the work of most editorial offices.

Many interesting forms of work with letters of workers are to be found at Estonian television and radio. In 1979 more than 7,000 letters were received for radio and television. For the purpose of answering the questions raised and explaining problems use is made of press conferences of ministers and heads of republic organs and departments and continuing series of transmissions: "Labor and Wages," "For and Against," "Concerning You and for You" and others. A juridical council works for Estonian radio; it is in actuality a public receiving agency.

A new form of dealing with masses of workers is the establishment of one-monthly political days at which leading personnel of the republic as well as personnel of city and rayon level effectively inform workers of the most important events and problems of domestic and international life and respond to questions. At these meetings, many questions of both public importance and of a personal nature are raised.

The following figures attest to the scale of these individual political days. On each political day more than 12,000 speeches are made on the average before 350,000 listeners, that is, more than 50 percent of the republic's workers. Questions and problems brought up at the single political days are under constant party control. Many of them are resolved on the spot, but where necessary they are passed to the appropriate organs, which implement the necessary measures. The analysis of questions raised at the single political days has become an effective means of study of the interests and requirements of Soviet people.

Party and soviet organs increasingly receive letters from workers containing useful proposals and critical comments on the operation of this or that enterprise.

Thus, the senior inspector of traffic safety of the Estonian division of the Baltic Railroad, communist Ye. Gol'dberg, in his letter to the CPS Central Committee directed attention to the unsatisfactory situation with respect to modernization of railroad facilities at a number of stations. The question was studied at a conference of representative of the Estonian division of the railroad, customers and the general contractor. All the participating organizations were given concrete assignments, and time periods were set for completion of modernization of the facilities.

There has been an increase in the number of letters on questions of selection, placement and training of supervisory cadres. Certain managers, who violate party and state discipline, are criticized. Driver of Motor Transport Base No 1 and

CPSU member A. Matveyev reported in his letter on defects in the operation of this enterprises, instances of improper behavior of certain supervisory personnel and weak educational work in the collection. An order of the Administration of Motor Transportation punished the guilty parties, and talks were held with managers and communists. The bureau of Khar'yuskiy Party Raykom discussed the report on the work of the primary party organization of Motor Transport Base No 1 and developed measures for elimination of the defects, strengthening of party political work in the collective and increasing the role and responsibility of the managers of the motor base.

Cases are still to be found where managers assume the path of persecution of subordinates for criticism and for reporting information on defects of superior organizations. Such cases not only do serious harm in the matter of cadre training but also to a certain degree provide grounds for statements to the effect that some individuals are permitted to violate our Soviet laws without being punished.

Party and soviet organs receive a considerable number of letters from workers on housing matters. The authors of many of the letters note with satisfaction that the right to housing guaranteed by the USSR Constitution constitutes one of the most important social gains of developed socialism and that this right attests to the constant concern of the party and the government for improvement of the housing conditions of citizens.

At the same time, families, which have been living for an extended time in unsuitable accommodations and houses in a broken-down condition, address letters and complaints to higher authorities. They complain about deficiencies in the solution of local housing problems. Many letters on housing problems come from the cities of Tallinn, Pyarnu and from Khaspaaluskily, Khar'yuskiy and Rakvereskily rayons. The number of such letters from Tartu, Kokhtla-Yarva and Narva has been perceptibly reduced.

As shown by analysis of the letters and checks made on the spot, many complaints are due to the fact that frequently in the allocation of housing existing legislation is violated, the procedure of recording those in need of improved housing conditions and order of priority in the granting of housing space are not observed and that publicity is absent in regard to its allocation. It also frequently happens that the excessive demands of some people are satisfied, while fully justified requests of others are ignored.

The letters of many citizens are permeated with concern for a solicitous attitude toward preservation of housing. Justified complaints are evoked by building repairs, which frequently are poorly organized and are drawn out over a long period of time; sometimes houses are not even repaired. In their statements, citizens report that because of unseasonable repairs of residential buildings, especially roofing, drainage pipes and the like, housing tends to break down prematurely; houses gradually become unsuitable for residence, as a result of which people are forced to undergo serious inconveniences.

In conformity with the directives of the CPSU Central Committee and the government of the republic, ministries and departments will be obliged during the course of 1981 to complete resettlement of tenants from unsuitable accommodations and to take steps for the gradual resettlement of tenants from improper housing.

Analysis of written and oral appeals of workers also shows that we still have many defects in the sphere of consumer services, municipal services and trade. Letters of workers frequently disclose violations of rules of trade, embezzlement and misappropriation. It would not be right to classify everyday problems solely under particularly operational ones relating solely to personnel of housing, municipal and consumer services. The labor and leisure of a person and his mood largely depend on the arrangement of his living conditions. In regard to apartments that are constantly cold, they speak first and foremost of cold radiators, and this theme can frequently cast a dark shadow on all that is light and good in life.

For the prevention and reduction of the number of complaints of citizens, concrete measures will have to be taken by departments and organs of government. Thus, at one time, the directorate of heat-supply networks was frequently criticized in Tallinn. Thus, at the Leninskiy, Kalininskiy and Morskiy rayon housing administrations, as well as at Mustamyae, Yysmyae and Staryy Gorod, emergency services have been created; their personnel eliminate damage to heating systems in residential buildings. The solution of local problems has eased the creation under ispolkoms of the city rayons of Tallinn departments of municipal services, trade, planning and housing commissions.

Many statements of citizens pertaining to living needs are frequently due to an inadequate knowledge of existing instructions and laws. Consequently, increasingly more attention is given among labor collectives to increasing corresponding explanatory work and legal propaganda. It is distinguished by many-sidedness at the Estonian Maritime Steamship Line, where in 1979 more than 200 lectures were presented on legal questions and about 50 meetings and evenings of questions and answers were held.

In the last two years, the number of letters from veterans of the Great Patriotic War has significantly increased. They point out the constant concern of the party and the state for front-line veterans. During the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan much was done for the improvement of everyday living conditions of participants of the war. But many war invalids and families of killed servicemen are in need of improved housing conditions. One still encounters an inattentive, and at times heartless, attitude to requests of invalids and participants of the Great Patriotic War and families of killed fightingmen. Party and soviet organs must do everything possible for unconditional fulfillment of the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for Further Improving the Material and Living Conditions of Participants of the Great Patriotic War" and "On Further Improving the Material Position of Veterans of the USSR Armed Forces and Their Families."

As was emphasized at the republic scientific-practical conference "Leninist Principles of Work with Written and Oral Appeals of Workers and Their Further Improvement in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, organized in September 1980 by the CPE Central Committee, attention in regard to people and their everyday needs is a profound party matter. It is the immediate concern of communists and the personnel of ispolkoms, trade-union committees, operational directors and also the duty of primary party organizations. A party approach to requirements of workers contributes to the development of initiative and awareness of citizens and formation of their active life position.

As a whole, a definite system has come into existence in the republic in the work with letters and of organization in receiving citizens, which assures an objective examination of questions raised in written and oral appeals of workers and the timely adoption of necessary measures. At party committees, more attention is being given to this sector of work, the quality of examined statements and complaints is steadily rising, and control over their practical resolution has been improved. New forms of work with written and oral appeals of citizens have appeared. At the same time, an indifferent and formal attitude to the solution of proposals, requests and valid complaints has not been fully eliminated, which obliges citizens to turn to higher organizations with repeated complaints. The examination of some letters is drawn out unjustifiably. In 1979, about 800 statements and letters of workers were received at the Tallinn Party Gorkom. More than half of them consisted of letters to the effect that citizens had received locally (at a house administration, at the place of work and the like) either indefinite or unfulfilled promises, obliging them to turn to other organs. In 1979, following intervention by the party gorkom, 2.0 petitions of citizens were positively resolved.

An important place in the work of party, soviet, trade-union and operational organs is occupied by individual receiving of citizens. Recently, quite a bit has been done to improve its organization. Thus, the Statute on a Receiving Room for the Executive Committee of the Tallinn City Soviet has been approved, thanks to which the procedure for receiving people has been improved. Now the leaders of the city executive committee, chiefs of administrations and heads of departments once a month also receive citizens directly at labor collectives. Since 1979, workers have been received at enterprises and institutions by secretaries of the Narva Party Gorkom and by supervisory personnel of the city executive committee. This makes it possible not only to listen to the wishes and proposals of citizens but also to achieve a closer acquaintance with the style of work of the leadership and public organizations of a labor collective and to obtain an idea of the microclimate in the collective and of the degree of acquaintanceship of workers with this or that question.

An active form of forestalling complaints of citizens is having particular days for receiving workers at enterprises, institutions and organizations. The bureau of the Tallinn Party Gorkom established on a citywide scale a particular day for the individual reception of citizens by executive party and soviet personnel at the place of location. Such receiving days are also held by the Estonian Republic Council of Trade Unions, the ministries of consumer services, procurement, local industry and others. This step leads to the goal set by the CPSU Central Committee: to for a procedure at all enterprises, organizations and institutions that would make it possible for every citizen to be received by the head. Positive experience has also been acquired in improving the manner of receiving citizens at other ministries, departments, enterprises, institutions and public organizations.

But things are not that way everywhere. Some supervisory personnel do not show the necessary responsibility in examining requests of citizens; sometimes they approach receiving of workers as an involuntary loss of time purportedly to the detriment of the main work. These comrades forget that a respectful attitude toward people and attention to their needs and requirements is the first duty of each executive.

In December 1918, V.I. Lenin in a note "Draft of Rules on the Administration of Soviet Institutions" wrote: "Rules on days and hours for receiving the public should be hung at every Soviet institution not only within buildings, but outside as well,

so that they would be accessible to all without exception. The reception premises must be so arranged that entry into them is free, absolutely without passes.

"Each Soviet institution must acquire a book for recording, in the briefest form, the name of a petitioner, the nature of his petition and the disposition of the matter.

"Hours must be specified for Sundays and holidays" ("Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 37, p 366).

It would appear that these rules would be applicable today as well.

Work with letters of workers and arranging for the receiving of citizens constitute an important side of party and state work. They reflect the state or organizational and mass political work of party committees and primary party organizations and are a living ties with the masses. To constantly rely on the collective experience of the people and to attentively treat their advice and proposals and critical indications means to strengthen in every Soviet person the feeling of master of his country. Today, on the threshold of the 26th CPSU Congress, this clearly confirms the nationwide discussion of the plan of the CPSU Central Committee.

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